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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
JANUARY 5, 1994 VOL. 100 NO. 1

CONTENTS

2 EDITORIAL

4 LITERS

6 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

8 COVER

38 CANADA

On Feb. 1, Gordon Thomson, the mild-mannered deputy governor of the Bank of Canada, will succeed his often prickly boss, John Crow. But both Thomson and Liberal Finance Minister Paul Martin insist that Crow's strong interventionist monetary policies are here to stay. International financial markets welcomed Thomson with a rally in the Canadian dollar.

42 WORLD

A new framework for peace in Northern Ireland puts pressure on the Irish Republic. Army to lay down its weapons and to join in the process at the negotiating table.

46 BUSINESS

A band of Canadian economists analyses the prospects for stronger growth and economic performance in the year ahead.

52 THE NATION'S BUSINESS: AFTER C. HENMAN

56 LIFESTYLES

Canadians are increasingly living solo. And their greater cautions have led to growing acceptance of their alternative lifestyle.

58 THE ARTS

60 BOOKS

Most visiting foreign writers have loved Canada—especially its wilderness.

62 TELEVISION

A CBC drama special revisits the terrible carnage of the Droppe road.

64 FORTHBRINGHAM

PHOTOGRAPHY: David Laundy; ART: David Laundy; DESIGN: David Laundy; ILLUSTRATION: David Laundy; COVER: David Laundy; ADVERTISING: David Laundy; CIRCULATION: David Laundy; EDITORIAL: David Laundy; PUBLICATION: David Laundy; DISTRIBUTION: David Laundy; SUBSCRIPTIONS: David Laundy; ADVERTISING: David Laundy; CIRCULATION: David Laundy; EDITORIAL: David Laundy; PUBLICATION: David Laundy; DISTRIBUTION: David Laundy; SUBSCRIPTIONS: David Laundy.



How we differ

8 Which province's residents are the most likely to chest on their taxes? Which Canadians are the most sexually active? This year's Maclean's/CTV poll presents detailed answers to those questions—and dozens more. A telling examination of what makes Canadians tick, the 19th annual survey sheds light on some startling regional differences.

A conversation with Chrétien

40 In a year-end interview, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien offers advice to unemployed Canadians, discusses the challenges facing social programs and explains why his wife, Anne, "does not want to be a Hillary Clinton type."



All the rage in '93

58 Maclean's entertainment editors and critics have sifted through the diversions of the past year and chosen their favorites—including Martin Scorsese's *Scarface*, the *Age of Innocence*, starring Michelle Pfeiffer, and Carol Shields's evocative, Booker-nominated novel, *The Stone Diaries*.



OPENING NOTES

The Wide World of Weird

After a year like 1993, it's time to stop, take a breath, and remember the weirdness that defines life in the Nineties. Once again, Maclean's editors have scoured the globe for 1993's gaffes and oddballs, the tidbits and the truly trivial to commemorate a year that, if nothing else, has the virtue of being over. A monthly selection:

JANUARY

As in last week, spiritualist Sir Chaimony offers a New Year's message to the world. God is dreaming; Nineties singing; Unsettling Morning; Pals wandering; High new movies; Left without dogs; Splendid debut; and Awful! Translating headlines again. Hey, nobody said the New Age was going to be easy.

A while back terror says Bode Wedderburn, 36, at a downtown Toronto bus stop, taking her on the arm and then reaching for her purse, which contains her credit cards, cash and keys. Police conduct an unsuccessful search for a white ball bomber with a black hair.



Charles: comes tomorrow

FEBRUARY
Scanning up by mission as a world-class former TV clown, San Francisco's Larry Harmon, aka Bozo, confesses. "I have been in the patios of New Orleans with the cattle, I've been down in the Arizona with the head-butters, because I was trying to see one thing: Can I relate to the world, can I survive in the jungle, dressed as Bozo?"

Reporting on Valentine's Day, a London citizen director recalls a loveless date—satisfied with confusion—as the back story. "Fifty per cent of people who go to the cinema are out on a date," says Sir Fredrick. "I decided to make it easier for them." The cinema's name: Prince Charles Theatre.

MARCH

Actress Sharon Stone admits to Vixen's Fair magazine that "once in a while, you hope that—ah God!—there would be an alternative" in dating men. Well, she says she does not have women lovers. "God! I could get out of it, it would be great," she says. But, she adds, "I don't mean a thing if it isn't got that schwing."

In the first shipment of its kind since the former Yugoslavia started its war, British troops are called to transport half-sentinel soldiers to evacuate the few Jews left in the besieged city. "The great thing about Serbia is you can deliver or fight to the spot," says UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Peter Kunder. "You don't have to cart the hell around."



Stone: the advantage of race

APRIL

In Dortmund, Germany, in what is later called one of the worst sports in world championship hockey history, the German and French squads engage in a bench-clearing brawl just seconds after Germany wins 5-1. The fight continues for several minutes—despite the officials being urged by the tournament mascot, whose name is Bally and who is dressed up as a pigskin.

MAY

In a literal turf war, about 80 women pickets beat each other with hands and steel pipes in a field near Georgetown, Ont. The combatants belong to two rival factions of women pickets, one from Ramoth and the other from Toronto. Thirteen people are injured in the brawl.

Kudos for the most scintillating go to The Canada Press's Lee Anne Goodman, who need not have cut around her review of the album. Sentimental beyond the first sentence: "Every copy of this horribly bad album at just eleven by TV talk-show host Kathie Lee Gifford should be unashamedly destroyed for the benefit of all society." Guess she didn't like it.



Gifford: remarkably bad review

JUNE

With an on Christie Avenue. A ring of terror descends on a quiet Halifax street as eight large crows, protecting their nests, begin chasing and biting residents. During a television interview from her Christie Avenue home, Louise MacBride looks out her window into her next-door neighbor's yard. "Oh my God," she exclaims, "they just got Ethel!"

JULY

A lawyer for convicted killer Robert Nelson Drew calls "inappropriate" the court order asking his client's executor date. The reason, Judge Charles Hume signed the document with lawyer-free drawing. "It's kind of strange to some sense of the word that someone would want to make something bad out of it," says Hume after Drew's lawyer publicly complained. "We've got to be a happy person. We've got to make people walking around with gun looks on their faces." In October, on the basis of new evidence, a District appeals court orders Drew's life just hours before he was scheduled to die of lethal injection.

AUGUST

Faced with international economic sanctions, with the burden of financing a war in Bosnia and Croatia and with an infla-

tion hovering around 20 per cent per day, the bank of Yugoslavia issues a new inflation-free bill: Estimated face-value exchange rate: 53.

SEPTEMBER

A swarm of Graphegites five miles long and two miles wide on gulls a Chinese oil tanker in the Yellow Sea. Reported the Nipponese Daily Express. "One crew member went to the kitchen to boil some water and when seconds was studied by the dragonflies, scaring him so much he turned around and jumped overboard."

It's a list in a leading paper prepared for the British Psychological Society, researcher John Blomfield declares that it works to fool you. Qui complaining.

OCTOBER

The Russian Mafia Ducks, started after a current 1992 Walt Disney movie starring Emilio Estevez, made their debut in a risk called the Poed, with between-parallel entertainment provided by the Nihilist first-class cheerleaders, an all-female quartet called the Decoyers. Need we say more?

Like a brain surgeon. During a performance in Tel Aviv, pop star Madonna comes up to her 50,000 fans by exclaiming: "Israel, finally after all these years, I'm in your holy city."

NOVEMBER

The U.S. National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health reports that murder is the leading workplace killer in Alabama, Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, South Carolina and Washington. D.C. Of the 62,580 American workers who died on the job from 1980 to 1989—about 17 a day—7,000 of them were homicide victims.

San Francisco returns to justice. Proposition 85, which all buting Officer Bob Gray of the San Francisco Police Department to "they just got Ethel!"



Gerry with Brenda O'Searcy: a pretty dandy

lake Braden O'Searcy, a veterinarian's dandy, alone on his best. Gerry, who claims that the party during before his defense team, including with lawyer, had been required to get water permission before taking O'Searcy with him. Says Gerry: "The captain said he made the police department look stupid." November.

DECEMBER

First the bad news. John Bobbert, the Marquette, Wis., man whose penis was successfully reattached in July after his wife, Loren, cut it off with a kitchen knife, reports that he has tried to have sex with "an old girl friend"—without much luck. To add insult to injury, Bobbert also tells



JOE CHICKLEY

Bobbert: hard to say

1993: believe us, talk-show host Jerry Jones said that an angry ball had recently landed him on the grass. On a more positive note, however, Bobbert says that his penis now seems "a little longer than it was."

There's always hope.

BEST-SELLERS

FICITION

1. The Stone Diaries, Carol Shields (1)
2. The Redber Book, Margaret Atwood (2)
3. Prose Country, Italo Calvino (3)
4. The Bridges of Madison County, Robert Bly (4)
5. The Giver, Lois Lowry (5)
6. Across the River, John Grisham (6)
7. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (7)
8. The Glass Menagerie, Tennessee Williams (8)
9. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (9)
10. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (10)

NONFICTION

1. Marjorie, Fern Hill (1)
2. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (2)
3. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (3)
4. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (4)
5. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (5)
6. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (6)
7. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (7)
8. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (8)
9. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (9)
10. The House of the Spirits, Isabel Allende (10)

PASSAGES

MARRIED: As a state, Virginia, Donald Trump, 47, and Maria Maples, 29, a model and mother of the couple's five-year-old daughter, Tiffany, at a lavish ceremony at Trump's Palm House in New York City. Trump, who has three children from his first marriage to Ivana Trump, 44, proposed to Maples only eight days before the ceremony.



DIED: Anne Harrison, 75, the first woman to lead a major Canadian labor union, of pancreatic cancer, in Toronto. Harrison served as the president of Canada's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, from 1973 to 1983. She spent a month in jail in 1975 for defying a court order requiring striking Ontario hospital employees to return to work.

DIED: W. Edwards Deming, 83, widely acclaimed management theorist, in his sleep at his home in Washington. Deming's management philosophy, which emphasized a more collegial approach between workers and their employers, was widely embraced by Japanese industrialists and played a major role in that nation's postwar economic recovery.

DISCLOSED: Anorexia between Prince Edward, 25, the youngest son of Queen Elizabeth II, and Sophie Rhys-Jones, a 25-year-old public relations consultant. In a rare public plea to newspaper editors, Edward asked that they respect the couple's privacy.

AWARDED: To Toronto. The 1993 year-end grant, Fox Gifford, 66, the Spring House Grant, an award of the year. The award recognizes the role of Gifford and Gifford in leading the year's second consecutive World Series crown—a feat that the St. Louis-based weekly described as the most remarkable sporting accomplishment of 1993.

OVERTURNED: A historic ruling upholding the ruling that barred New Brunswick teacher Markovitz from the classroom because of his stated anti-Semitic beliefs. The New Brunswick Court of Appeal declared that the two-year-old ban against Markovitz was too severe because it kept him out of the classroom to spread his beliefs.

HOW WE DIFFER

No wonder the search for the Canadian identity has always seemed so difficult—from the polling booth to the bedroom, regional diversity is alive and flourishing

BY ROSS LAVER

If anyone in Canada was more delighted than Jean Chrétien by the outcome of the Oct. 25 federal election, it was probably Jacques Parizeau, head of the Parti Québécois. "The game is up for federalists," he gloated after pondering the astonishing success of the Bloc Québécois in his native province and the equally impressive rise of the Reform party in the West. Praising for dramatic effect, Parizeau added triumphantly "Canada is cracking apart all over."

In he right, or was the PQ leader simply engaging in wishful thinking? In the case of Quebec, the verdict may come in 2000—the year in which Parizeau, if he fulfils his ambition to become premier in the upcoming provincial election, has promised a referendum on sovereignty. For now, what seems clear is that the stresses and strains that have always divided Canadians are becoming more pronounced. Whether or not they agree with Parizeau, that the country is "cracking apart" like some kind of constitutional Humpty Dumpty, many Canadians do worry that the country they know and love is teetering on the brink.

Of course, Canada has always encompassed vastly different regional aspirations. How could things be otherwise in a nation that boasts two official languages (and dozens of unofficial ones), 10 million square kilometres of land and water and a quarter of the world's time zones? Scattered from east to west across 5,504 km of territory—from the rugged wilderness of Newfoundland to the lush rain forests of Vancouver Island—Canada's 28 million inhabitants are held together not by any universal sense of history or destiny, but by 127 years worth of painstaking political accommodation. No wonder novelist

Metroland: see page 32

MACLEAN'S/JANUARY 3, 1994

Robertson Davies once said of Canada, "It's not a country you love. It's a country you worry about."

These days, statisticians and sympathetic designers are doing a great deal more worrying about the country's future. They are troubled not only by the strength of regionalism—with the collapse of the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals are now the only federal party with elected members in more than four of the country's 10 provinces—but also by the increasingly north-south alignment of the Canadian economy. They worry, too, about the withering away of national symbols—everything from Via Rail and the domestic airline industry to the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. and the Canadian Football League. The East Coast dilemma is now practically a censure, support for bilingualism is declining and a growing number of Canadian dollars read up in the cash registers of overseas U.S.-owned warehouse stores, bypassing locally owned shops and traditional Canadian retail chains.

In the face of these pressures, and an economy that stubbornly refuses to pick up off its knees after four years of what business leaders euphemistically term "restructuring," it is hardly surprising that so many Canadians express pessimism about their country. But how exactly do the concerns of Newfoundlanders differ from those of Ontarians or British Columbians? Are Quebecers more disenchanted than Albertans? And are the differences among Canadians from various regions mainly a matter of politics and patriotism, or do they extend to social and ethical beliefs, social behaviour and lifestyle?

Searching for answers to some of those questions, Maclean's and CTV network commissioned a wide-ranging poll by Toronto's Decima Research of 1,610 adults from coast to coast—the 10th annual Maclean's year-end poll. As in each of the nine previous polls, Decima asked Canadians about the issues that matter most to them, and about how they feel about their own—and their country's—prospects. The survey also dealt with a wide variety of ethical and moral issues, from inflicting a racial joke to having an extramarital affair. It asked what people do in their spare time, including how often they read a book, rent violent videos or commune with nature. Finally, the poll explored what happens when the lights go out, asked how often they

Is Canada now a better or worse place to live than a decade ago?



WHICH PROVINCE WOULD YOU LIKE TO LIVE IN?

Ranked in order of popularity (in brackets: percentage of total sample)

- 1 British Columbia (27)
- 2 Ontario (26)
- 3 Quebec (21)
- 4 Alberta (11)
- 5 Nova Scotia (4)
- 6 Manitoba (3)
- 7 Newfoundland/Saskatchewan/New Brunswick (2)
- 8 Prince Edward Island (1)

Percentage of respondents who chose their own province:



What is the most important problem facing Canada today?



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 43



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 17

Do you think of yourself as a Canadian first, or as a resident of a particular region or province?

Percentage who identify with their own province:



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 20

Percentage who identify themselves as "Canadian":



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 72

"At the end of the day, we have to look to government for solutions to the major problems we face"

Percentage who agreed:



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 38

"Canada would be no worse off if it became part of the United States"

Percentage who agreed:



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 22

had sex, how much time they devoted to sleeping and learning and how they felt about a range of social issues. When it was all done, Decima vice-president Christopher Kelly analyzed the responses according to the respondents' province of residence, as well as age, sex, income, level of education and occupation.

The results, by turns, were fascinating, curious, enlightening and surprising. Nationally, respondents identified unemployment as the most important issue facing the country—the eighth time they have done so since the magazine began conducting year-end polls in 1984 (page 24). But the national results revealed significant differences among regions. In general, concern about unemployment was far less pronounced in the West than in Central Canada and the Atlantic provinces (where the problem is most acute). In British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, in fact, almost no survey respondents said the top issue was governmental debt and deficit. Obviously, Ontario's government will have to walk a tightrope if it hopes to reach out to needy Canadians in hard-hit regions without alienating debt-wary voters in others.

Beyond that, the poll found that respondents in Newfoundland, Quebec and Prince Edward Island were the least inclined to think of themselves as Canadians. British Columbia was the most popular place to live, while Newfoundlanders were the most likely to agree that governments hold the solution to major problems. Residents of Saskatchewan seemed to be the gloomiest Canadians: 64 per cent of respondents there said the province is now a worse place to live than a decade ago. (Perhaps it is sheer coincidence that Saskatchewan's economy also reported having one less offer than people in every other province.) The following pages contain a detailed look at the findings, as well as a look back at how Canada has changed since the first Maclean's poll. As usual, this year's package is a blend of the serious and not-so-serious. But in a country that is still struggling to define itself, it makes sense first to examine and understand our differences. □

Is your province now a better or worse place to live than a decade ago?

	BETTER	NO BETTER OR WORSE	WORSE
British Columbia	31	36	33
Alberta	19	41	37
Saskatchewan	7	29	64
Manitoba	19	50	30
Ontario	13	33	52
Quebec	16	43	40
New Brunswick	33	42	24
Nova Scotia	14	46	38
Prince Edward Island	25	53	20
Newfoundland	11	38	51

ILLUSTRATION BY JIM FLEMING

A NATIONAL MIRROR

New Brunswickers are among the most devout, while Quebecers like to live for the moment

VALUES

The intergenerational statistics in their 13th National survey, "Morality is simply a matter of principle." If the Maclean's/CTV poll is any indication, the years have done nothing to make the truth of these words. While the survey does reveal some common national values, there is a large number of significant demographic—and geographic—differences.

Nationally, 50 per cent of those polled say that their belief in God helps them to cope with daily life. The most devout believers are those who earn less than \$20,000 a year (69 per cent) or who live in New Brunswick or Newfoundland, the least devout are those with incomes over \$60,000 (46 per cent) or who live in British Columbia. Similarly, New Brunswickers, along with Newfoundlanders, are most likely to agree that punishing Canada's terrible children offenders is important, as are those over 65 (62 per cent).

Attitudes towards euthanasia also



Do you agree or disagree with these statements?

PERCENTAGE WHO AGREE:

"My belief in God helps me in my day-to-day life"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 50

"Maintaining Canada's tradition of Christian values is very important to me"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 55

"It should be legal to let a terminally ill person commit suicide"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 55

"We should eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we may die"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 40

"Women with young children should stay at home"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 35

"It would be fine if one of my children turned out to be gay"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 56

any. Nationally, 56 per cent agree that helping the terminally ill to commit suicide should no longer be illegal; respondents in Quebec and British Columbia were the most likely to take that position. Least likely to favor the practice are Canadians earning less than \$20,000 a year (42 per cent) and those over 65 (37 per cent).

Quebec respondents also believe in living for the moment. A staggering 71 per cent endorsed the statement, "We should eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we may die"—far exceeding all other major demographic groups, including 18- to 24-year-olds (65 per cent). Quebecers also love to shop: 73 per cent agreed that spending money and buying things gives them "real pleasure."

SCOTT STEELE

ETHICS

According to the underground economy, Prime Minister Paul Martin declared recently, hundreds of thousands of Canadians have "withdrawn their consent to be governed." Martin added that the Liberals hope to turn that around. But the poll suggests that they have their work cut out for them. Nearly one in four respondents said it was acceptable to cheat on taxes, 26 per cent said it was acceptable to buy contraband cigarettes or alcohol and 30 per cent saw nothing wrong with smuggling.

Respondents in Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec were the most likely to endorse tax cheating, while Newfoundlanders were overwhelmingly opposed. On each issue, senior citizens were the least likely to favor bending the rules. Unfortunately for Revenue Canada, the demographic trends suggest that, in future, tax revenues and evidence will become even more elusive. Only half of 18- to 24-year-olds disapproved of buying contraband tobacco and alcohol, and only a third frowned on smuggling.

Conversely, while respondents in Quebec Canada reacted to new Quebecers as the most morally moderate province (page 15), Quebecers were only half as likely as others to say it is "sometimes" or "always OK" to tell racial jokes.

On that and other issues, women held stronger views than men. Fifty-five per cent of women surveyed said it was never acceptable to tell racial jokes, compared with 43 per cent of men. The starkest contrast concerned pornography: women said the worst view it was never acceptable to watch them, compared with a quarter of the men.

S.S.

Percentage who said it was "OK" to...

Cheat on taxes or avoid paying the GST:



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 24

Smoke marijuana:



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 24

Tell racial jokes:



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 33

Watch porn movies:



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 35



If you were driving down a highway at night and saw a car stuck at the side of the road, would you . . . ?

Step and offer to push or tow the car

25%

Step and offer to call for help

23

Drive past, but later call for help

30

Drive past and ignore it

9

Percentage who would offer to push or tow the car:



How we see ourselves

Well, reserved and modest—Canadians have always said words like that to describe themselves. But when respondents to the Maclean's/CIV poll were given a list of attributes and asked which province's residents they best described, they generally chose the most flattering adjectives for themselves. Large numbers in every province perceived themselves to be the most hardworking people in Canada—the largest percentage (72 per cent) feeling from Newfoundland to Newfoundland also described themselves as the most generous Canadians, a view that is consistent with their responses to another question: is much higher numbers than respondents from any other province. Newfoundlanders said that they would stop and offer immediate help if they came across a car "stuck at the side of the road." At the other end of the country, residents of British Columbia—the province where the greatest percentage of respondents would like to live if in a choice—were the least likely to describe themselves as either hardworking or generous.

Respondents from Ontario overwhelmingly said that their province was the most sophisticated of the 10. But they were also more likely than

others to describe themselves in negative terms. 30 per cent said that Ontarians were the most boastful people in Canada, and 47 per cent said they were the most violent. Similarly, Quebecers and Albertans more than any others described themselves as the most narrow-minded and the most racially intolerant. And even more surprisingly, 38 per cent of Quebecers identified themselves as the nation's biggest complainers.

S.S.

Canadians were the least tolerant and of tobacco, they were the most likely to approve of capital punishment.

British Columbians were also the least likely to say that they had read a book in the previous month, most likely to have worked at a second job and least likely to acknowledge watching a violent video.

Per plays an important role in determining Canadians' level of religious observance. The most likely respondents to have visited a place of worship in the month before the survey were seniors (74 per cent) and people earning less than \$20,000 a year (53 per cent). The caregivers with the least observant respondents were Ontarians and 25- to 34-year-olds—only 38 per cent of that age group had attended a service in the previous month.

One item will come as no surprise to the women of the house: while 55 per cent of female respondents reported having cleaned a bathroom—including a toilet—as the previous month, only 79 per cent of men had done so.

S.S.

Percentage who said that residents of their province are the most generous in the country



Most sophisticated:



Hardest working:



Most racially intolerant:



Biggest complainers:



Most violent:



How we see others

Canadians have always reacted to the "underdog," so it comes as little surprise that respondents in the Maclean's/CIV poll generally viewed residents of the less populous provinces in a favorable light. They viewed their brethren in



the four smallest provinces—Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta.

To gauge their perceptions of other provinces, interviewers from Decima Research read each respondent a list of nine attributes and asked which province's residents they best described. In the case of the six smaller provinces, the most popular descriptions were "reserved" or "shy," followed in most instances by "generous" or "hardworking." Albertans, however, were perceived to be among the most boisterous people in the country. And while British Columbia and Ontario came off as the country's most sophisticated provinces, their residents were also viewed as among the most boastful. In addition, Ontario was described as the nation's most violent province—even by Ontarians—while Quebecers were widely viewed as the biggest complainers, as well as the most narrow-minded and racially intolerant.

The results showed that perceptions of provincial differences were strongest among younger Canadians. Forty-five per cent of the 15- to 24-year-olds in the survey, for example, identified Ontario as the most violent province, compared to only 14 per cent of those 35 or older. And it was only as a result of this for instance, the poll's youngest respondents were also the least tolerant of Quebec. Among the 15- to 24-year-olds surveyed, 69 per cent named Quebecers as the biggest complainers, compared

with 38 per cent of the respondents aged 35 and over. Young people also were somewhat more likely than older respondents to see Quebec residents as boastful and narrow-minded. Perceptions of interpersonal harmony can only hope that the younger generation mellow with age.

S.S.

Respondents were given a list of nine attributes and asked which province's residents those terms most closely defined. The most popular descriptions of each province:

BRITISH COLUMBIA	QUEBEC
Sophisticated	Complainers
Boastful	Narrow-minded
Generous	Racially intolerant
ALBERTA	NEW
Hardworking	Boastful
Racially intolerant	Reserved/shy
SASKATCHEWAN	PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
Reserved/shy	Reserved/shy
Generous	Generous
MANITOBA	NEWFOUNDLAND
Reserved/shy	Reserved/shy
Hardworking	Hardworking
ONTARIO	Violent
Sophisticated	Violent
Reserved/shy	Boastful

If friends or relatives came over for dinner and some were smokers, what would you do?

Allow them to smoke	49%
Allow them to smoke in another room	7
Ask everyone not to smoke	7
Ask smokers to go outside	24
Ask guests what they prefer	12

Percentage who would forbid smokers from lighting up in their home:



In the last month have you...

Attended a religious service?



Rented a violent movie?



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 47

Worked at a second job?



Read a book?



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 74

Percentage who saw Ontarians as violent:



S.S.

Percentage who saw Quebecers as complainers:



MACLEAN'S/JANUARY 2, 1994 13

STATE OF DISGRACE

When the House of Commons last sat, on June 16, Brian Mulroney was still prime minister. Kim Campbell had just been chosen to be his successor as Conservative leader, and one of the federal Liberals unfurled by the prospect of campaigning against her was Jean Chretien. After several of his supporters publicly expressed concerns about his election prospects, Chretien scoffed them and warned against becoming "terrified voters." More than six months later, that attitude serves as a reminder of two crucial truths about Canadian politics: popularity is fleeting—and so are secrets of the House of Commons. By the time the next session of Parliament begins on Jan. 31, Canadians will have been governed by three prime ministers and lived through almost three months of Liberal government, the rise of two new political parties, the election of 355 million MPs and the re-alignment of both the Conservatives and the New Democratic Party.

At the end of 1993, politicians of all stripes are united in the knowledge of their unpopularity—a state of disgrace that far exceeds traditional grumbling about them. Consider the response to the long rumour of Parliament: few Canadians, and even fewer legislators, appear deterred by the absence from nightly television newscasts of what Reform Leader Preston Manning calls "the in-trust personality [and] egomaniac" of daily Quebec Premier—so char, the all-too-predictable signs of boredom, nose-sneezing fits, yawning and waggling their fingers at one another. Three days, says a senior Chretien adviser, Canadians "have a sense of cynicism about government that borders on nihilism." Jean Chretien, after lamenting the rumour of the "Tory party in mid-December," spoke wistfully of the need to banish cynicism from the country's political vocabulary. Manning, meanwhile, says that Canadians "basically want nothing more from politicians than to be left alone, and not have them creep up their lives any more than they already have."

That despair has sharply altered the nature of politics—while creating some obvious pitfalls for Chretien's new government. As the *Maclean's*/CTV poll indicates, large numbers of Canadians in all parts of the country already believe that their province or region is going to be absorbed by the rest of the country. Nationally, 37 per cent of the sample said that the Liberals would lose any particular region or province. Of respondents in English Canada who felt that way, the vast majority was convinced that it was Quebec that would require special treatment (Quebecans, judging by the election sweep of the provincialist Bloc Quebecois, are equally in

Canadians, a Chretien adviser says, 'have a sense of cynicism about politicians that borders on nihilism'

clined to believe their province is threatened by the coming federal election.)

Those sentiments undoubtedly contributed to the growth of Reform and the Bloc, both of which lived on long-standing regional grievances. It became clear during the election campaign that Reform and the Bloc had more in common than they might care to acknowledge. In both camps, supporters were frustrated by the failure of traditional parties to respond to new ideas, and angry towards politicians who seemed to be more concerned about their own interests than those of the people who elected them. Above all, Reform and Bloc supporters felt excluded by the system.

The well of regional alienation is likely to deepen in the coming year in the wake of the Tarvisi cheating debate. The Liberals are now the only party with a truly national base. Bloc Leader Lucien Bouchard had said that his caucus, in its role as official Opposition, will try to represent all Canadians, but in reality Quebec's interests will take precedence. Reform, in contrast, has only one elected member east of Manitoba.

The country's worsening financial situation seems certain to exacerbate those regional problems by further restricting federal spending on shared-cost social programs. To take one example, the Quebec government estimates that Ottawa's contributions to the province's welfare program fell to 36 per cent last year from 47 per cent in 1993. The province, in consequence, is urging the federal government to relax its controls on the way they administer social programs, arguing that if Ottawa won't pay the paper it should go on trying to fill the tank. The ultimate result could be a patchwork system in which wealthier provinces, such as Alberta and British Columbia, offer a wider and more generous range of services than their poorer cousins. In the face of these pressures, it is hardly surprising that so many Canadians in 1993 were gazing longingly back over their shoulders at the past. No politician understood that desire as well as Jean Chretien. He looked off the election with a call for a return to "the good old days."

That brought a storm of criticism from other politicians and pundits, who recalled the word "nostalgia" and evoked memories of post-Liberal governments. But Chretien seemed what others failed to recognize: at a time when aging baby boomers were sublimated with nostalgia, the idea of electing "yesterday's man" was actually a bad idea. "Canadians want to know that their political leaders are responsible, reliable, trustworthy people who demonstrate that in their personal lives," Chretien told *Maclean's* in a pre-election interview. "Canadians want to feel that way about politicians and we have to make them feel that way again."

In fact, and the issue of self-con-



Beauchamp (left) and Manning: the Reform leader says

that Canadians 'want nothing more from politicians than to be left alone'

science fragility that is now sweeping Ottawa, Chretien is very much today's man. One of the major causes of Mulroney's extraordinary incapacity was his leadership for the perpetuation of office. Chretien, whose first attempt at office ending his career was to place strict limits on the number of staff they may have, takes a markedly different approach. Equally, where Mulroney delighted in bowing to friends about the strength of his relations with provincial leaders, Chretien is almost disarmingly uninterested in events that do not directly affect Canada.

Chretien and Manning are at the vanguard of what is likely to be, on a personal level, the most contentious Parliament in decades. For now, at least, the most desirable thing a political leader can do is "just say no" to the traditional benefits and broad-brushes of elected office. In the Prime Minister's case, that has meant traveling abroad with as few as two aides, compared to the 25 or so who sometimes accompanied Mulroney. For Manning, "no" means sending back the keys to a chartered car in which he was entitled, and bowing about the fragility of his Ottawa long quarters—a rented room at a friend's house near the Ottawa River.

These are the currencies—or, as image experts like to say—the apter of the New Politics. But in the coming year, the New Politics will collide head-on with the realities of several old and serious problems. The first of these is the national debt, which is now roughly half a trillion dollars. Since the Tories began focusing attention on the deficit in 1986, each budget has brought a bond or provision of the need to increase economic growth, greater government spending and tighter access to various federal pro-

grams. None of those days have made much of a dent in the deficit. Instead, Finance Minister Paul Martin will likely examine cuts to such programs as unemployment insurance and old age pensions, while eliminating or reducing some popular tax shelters.

The other issue that looms, once more, is Quebec's place in or out of Canada. In the provincial election that must be held in 1994, Quebecers appear likely to bring Jacques Parizeau's Parti Quebecois to power. That would mean, according to Parizeau, a referendum on sovereignty by 1995. Last year, at the wake of

the failed national constitutional referendum, many Canadians appeared in a truculent mood towards Quebec. In the 1992 *Maclean's*/CTV poll, only 30 per cent of the respondents shared the traditional Quebec view of Canada as a pact between two founding peoples, while 66 per cent defined the country as consisting of 10 equal provinces. That year, the mood swung, on the surface at least, more conciliatory. Forty-one per cent said that Canada is a pact between French and English, while 46 per cent think it is an 10 equal provinces. Quebecers may be fanatical for their subordination to Canada, but those results suggest

Canadians elsewhere are equally uncertain about their country's defining characteristics. Of course, if the issue of Quebec's place in Canada goes to a referendum, a choice of *Oui* or *Non* would offer voters no room for ambivalence. In that sense, the inevitable clash between the Bloc, Reform and the Liberals when the House of Commons finally meets again will surely be a dress rehearsal for the political theatre that lies ahead.

ANDREW WILSON SMITH
in Ottawa

Do you think the new Liberal government in Ottawa will favor any regions or provinces over others?

PERCENTAGE WHO SAID YES



Percentage who said the new federal government would favor Quebec:



How do you tend to view Canada today, as a pact between two founding groups or as 10 equal provinces?

	NOW	1992*
Two founding groups	49	30
10 equal provinces	46	68
No opinion	5	2

* Decline survey for *Maclean's* and CTV conducted November, 1992

MY CANADA INCLUDES...

Spectacular sunsets, goofy clothes and great tasting chicken balls—all that and so much more



At a time of regional discord, what does it mean to be Canadian? Some of the country's best-known individuals explain to Maclean's Editor Dave Brady what Canada means to them

PIERRE BURNET, president of the Montreal-based firm Leveque Beaudin Gosselin

"During the 1990 world exposition in Spain, I was amazed at the language outside the Canada pavilion. Foreigners visit this country. In fact, everyone believes in Canada except Canadians.

"But I wonder how different we really are. Take a *Reflexion* from Alberta, a *Quebecer* cartoonist and a Newfoundland *Sabbatman*. If they met in a Paris bar, they would still talk about the same thing. They came from a country that is admired worldwide. They are the only people who really notice their differences."

ROBERT MACNEIL, Montreal author, now host of PBS's *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*

"Leaving from the outside, Canada has become less and less coherent, but more and more interesting. It seems Canadians find it easier to get along with Americans than with each other. A man from Prince Edward Island said to my friend 'I don't mind if Quebec does break away. It will benefit those people in Ontario a lot.'"

"It happened to be in Nova Scotia during the Gory Cap game. My brother and I practically fell out of our chairs when the *Star-Spangled Banner* came on before the national anthem. It was a surreal occasion.

"The Canadian identity seems clearer when you are living in

WITSON, pop singer, Montreal

"I feel very secure here. We are not too involved in wars. Elsewhere, in places like France, you have to serve in the army as a young man. Here, you have a choice.

"The other thing is food. Montreal has five ethnic food all over the world. My taste buds are very particular. Do not eat a beef person who likes steak houses or things like that. I like more variety, and Montreal has variety. He does Toronto and Vancouver.

"Canadians, as a people, are very open. I find them down-to-earth and warm and friendly. The winters are cold, so we have to warm each other with our feelings."



ROBERT MACNEIL, children's author, Guelph, Ont.

"Canada, for me, is a Chinese restaurant in Hanoi, Viet Nam, that serves the best chicken balls I've ever tasted. People come to Canada from all corners of the globe.

"But I'm more struck by the differences between north and south, than east and west. Living near the border, we forget that this is an Arctic country. I once stood at Baker Lake (N.W.T.), looking at the barren landscape in 90 mph winds, thinking, 'This is the geographic center of Canada.' Our only point is above the tree line. It bugs the hell."

ROBERT GREEN, cartoonist and host of *TVOntario's* *Prisoners of Comedy*

"I love Canadians' lack of fashion sense. Our *GV* magazine is the Canadian *Time* magazine. Water is surely so brilliant that we give up caring about how stupid we look in jackets, trousers and big rubber boots. Gar

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outer long as well as loved. Could you imagine the *Los Angeles* riots erupting in Winnipeg in February? You can really tell winter from summer here. In winter, people don't leave their cars in the snow. You can hear the ice on your car's upholstery.

"I like living in a country where white and minority are never understood and the native system as long as I live and be proud of it. I also like the fact that we have more natural beauty and more tolerance and true freedom than any other country—and absolutely no appreciation of it. We have nature from a sunset to sea turtles in a nation of about 30 colonies."

MARIE GALLANT, novelist, a Montreal native now living in Paris

"If there is one thing that makes Canada different, it's the fact that we ask that question: Who are we? What makes us special? You would not hear the French ask it, nor would the British ask it and certainly not the Americans.

"In the 1960s, when I was beginning to write fiction in England, I dropped by the CBC office there to see about free-lance work. Even though I had worked as a reporter, this was just a new world for me. Five years later, after my work was published, he was all over me. When I mentioned him to our father-in-law, he just said: 'Oh, you looked so Canadian.' As if I were a child in those days. Canadians looked different. We were extremely neat and clean—and polite."

"I don't think Canadians are so different any more. In fact, I was struck by the similarity between Canadians and U.S. Americans during my last book tour. For one thing, the Canadian voice is fading away because of U.S. sales. From thousands of miles away, the country looks quite similar."

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH, economist, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

"My Canada seems as the common for the continent. It has a good welfare system, the best medical services, the most cities and a new government that

ROBERT MACNEIL, children's author, Guelph, Ont.

"My favorite part of Canada is the West Coast. I love the storms, the sunsets, the late evening moon and the ocean. When I'm on the beach, I like to listen to the waves and the birds. It makes me feel alive. That's what I would miss most if I went away—the solitude. I like to be alone in a beautiful place, that's all."

"I would also miss the fresh air. You can go down at low tide and not something almost as soon as you pack it up, the sea arches. You can crack open a sea urchin and eat the eggs on the spot. The Japanese call it *uni*. They will pay \$100 to eat it, whereas I can just get it on the beach.

"This is a great place but we take it for granted. When I go back to my home, I see the signs of logging everywhere. The children in the park with the river just sing every day. It's really scary for me. We don't seem to notice the good things until they are gone."

ANTHONY MUELLE, academic author, Montreal

"This country has a special mix of old and new. The two founding cultures came here at the height of their power. France settled in the 17th century when it was a world leader. England just down roots in the 19th century, during its most powerful period. We were colonized by two great empires of history. In Canada, we have taken those Latin and Celtic remnants and given them a northern twist, a new breath of life. The result is a very special culture."

"The other groups here have added to that culture. Canada draws people who want a better life, more freedom, education for their children—people who are inspired by a dream. They come to a country that has learned to deal with differences, to be flexible and subtle, confident and yet not arrogant."

"The one word that is in our glossary of the native peoples who came before us. We have a structure in those centuries of native history. It would lead me to incorporate their experience into modern culture. Imagine the result. There is a consideration for others here that I like. It's not a perfect character."



MARGARET ATWOOD, novelist, Toronto

"A few years ago, a ted bear was murdered in Toronto. All the other taxi drivers drove around City Hall with their lights on. It was big news. In our great neighbor to the south, his death might not have made the newspapers. That kind of crime is new to us in Canada."

"I have noticed something else in the past year. I had been going to the hospital a lot because my father was sick. Everywhere I went, people held the door for me. Canadians are door-holders. There is a consideration for others here that I like. It's not a perfect character."

CAROL SHIELDS, Winnipeg novelist and winner of the 1993 Governor General's Award for *The Stone Diaries* (Temporarily living in Berkeley, Calif.)

"My Canada includes those lovely immigrants and new citizens who live in Canada but were not born here. I was stunned recently to learn about a book editor at a large Canadian daily who questioned, in print, whether I was indeed a Canadian. I immigrated from the United States in 1957 as a young woman at 22 and have been a citizen for most of that time. Canada, for me, is home. I learned my way into the country."

"Yesterday, my husband phoned a doctor in Berkeley to get an appointment and was obliged to listen to an advertisement for the clinic. Canadians would never need for that. The whole market covers a kind of protest against him. It is such an anguished. On the other hand, the flowers are blooming as we speak."

CANADA UNDER THE COVERS

In matters of sex, the poll shows Quebec and Newfoundland come out on top

There is no room in Canadian society for legal prostitution, says Peggy Goffine, a 39-year-old housewife and mother of three from Swift Current, Sask., and previous title for explicit pornography, either. Goffine, one of the 3,600 Canadians interviewed for this year's *Maclean's/CTV* poll, considers it wrong to have sexual relationships, before marriage, and she contends that casual men who watch sexually explicit films without their wives are engaging in a form of adultery. While others may feel differently, Goffine says that her views have been shaped by the community—and the province—in which she lives. "It's a smaller world here than in Central Canada," she said. "You have to be careful about what you do."

Judging by the views, Goffine's views are shared by many of Saskatchewan's 380,000 residents. Residents of that province, along with Nova Scotians, were among the most conservative in the country in their responses to 35 questions dealing with sexual attitudes and practices. At the other extreme, Quebecers tended to be significantly more liberal than their fellow Canadians. While Quebecers claimed to make love, on



average, eight times a month (second only to Newfoundlanders, at 10 times monthly), Saskatchewan respondents acknowledged having sex only five times a month. Quebecers also reported spending an average of half an hour in foreplay—almost twice the time reported by Nova Scotians. And while 73 per cent of Quebecers accept oral masturbation as a healthy part of a person's sex life, only 45 per cent of Nova Scotians and 41 per cent of Saskatchewan residents took that view.

Cremling Raposo, a 29-year-old master's student in sociology at Concordia University in Montreal, was typical of Quebecers who took part in the survey. In a subsequent interview, she insisted that sexual permissiveness is not only acceptable but healthy. "Compared with people I've met from across Canada, Quebecers are more at ease with sexuality and talking about it," Raposo says. "Basically explicit material is available here in movies, videos and magazines, and I don't think there's anything wrong with that."

Regional variations in sexual attitudes and practices, according to many experts, reflect underlying social and economic pressures. In Quebec, the Quiet Revolution of the early 1960s did much to liberate attitudes towards sex. "Quebecers were controlled by the Catholic religion for a long time," says sociologist Robert Gosselin, who teaches in the sociology department at the Montreal campus of the University of Quebec. "When the church's dominant control, it was like letting a bird out of a

prison. The poll results also point to a significant gender gap in attitudes towards sex. Men claim to be more sexually active than women, are more likely to approve of multiple partners before marriage and are more likely to believe that erotic magazines need more ad space to one's wife. According to some researchers, the results confirm the existence of long-established gender roles. "Women are socialized to be gatekeepers," said Edward Herold, a professor of family studies at Ontario's University of Guelph. "They set the standards as to how far sexual partners should go."

While parts of the country remain more conservative than others, a large majority of respondents—73 per cent—view their society as more permissive than it was 20 years ago. And one sign of that transformation is the erosion of old taboos. Fifty-six per cent of the respondents said that they could accept a child who turned out to be homosexual, and 46 per cent agreed that masturbation is healthy. Many say their parents now use the term "self-injury" to reduce the stigma attached to masturbation, and almost all in a way to release one's own energy. "It's a little different, a type of sexual insurance," said Dr. Cheryl Charnick, who provides sex counselling services in London, Ont., with her husband, Antonio Charnick. "For better parts of our lives, we are our own sexual partners."

Despite the change in attitudes and behavior, most Canadians still believe in remaining faithful to their partners. Some 59 respondents agreed that emotional fidelity is unacceptable (Quebecers, at 55 per cent, were the last likely to agree with that statement). "People are now willing to engage in premarital sex and to expect that their partners will have a sexual history," says Dr. Charnick. "But I don't think that's the case here." In a 1996 book *The Canadian Family in Crisis*, "We've learned from the sexual revolution that first love doesn't bring emotional content and security. People are beginning to demand emotional commitment."

But even though Canadians are becoming more candid and curious about sexuality, the demands of daily life frequently interfere with the real thing. Dr. Charnick said that about 30 per cent of the people she counsels suffer from a lack of desire caused by stress and information overload. Working couples who begin the day by rushing their children to a day care centre, and finish it by watching television news footage of disaster and death frequently have little energy or inclination for sex. "You look at people's lives and you see Dr. Charnick," said Dr. Charnick. "When is it going to happen?" On Sunday morning, they spend the rest of the week working because it's not happening. Sex, for most Canadians, is both a blessing and a burden.

DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THESE STATEMENTS?

PERCENTAGE WHO AGREED:

"It is totally unacceptable to have an extramarital affair"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 70

"I think erotic magazines and movies can help make your sex life more interesting"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 43

"I believe prostitution should be legal"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 52

"Masturbation is a healthy part of one's sex life"



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 60

On average, how long does each of your sexual encounters last?

PERCENT OF MEN/PEI



NATIONAL AVERAGE: 35



NO PLACE LIKE HOME

There's nothing like living abroad to give a Canadian a new perspective on the country. Here, three Maclean's correspondents describe how Canada looks from afar



Newcomer Bureau Chief Chris Wood was based in Dallas from 1992 until September, 1993

Get a grip, Canada! You are not the hapless collection of wimps we Americans think some would have you believe. Viewed from the distance of the vast Texas prairie, where they grew real Americans, Canada shines out as a paragon of civility and common sense. Despite what many people think, Canada works better than most countries. Its people have achieved two-thirds, at least, of their constitutional aspirations of "peace, order and good government." So why such timidity? All Canada really needs is a firm sense of what America has as qualities: basic citizenship, initiative, self-reliance—in a word, *common sense*.

There is a nation, most popular in Quebec, but routinely advanced in every other province as well, that Canada is nothing more than a string of disconnected regions with little if any common interests. That's not, as they say in Texas, just plain fact. The people of Quebec's sparsely populated Gaspé Peninsula, barred to enter a living off shrinking forests and depleted fish stocks, have far more in common with the inhabitants of Vancouver Island than they do with the jittery residents of southern California or Florida. Toronto, stragglers to absorb a wave of new immigrants as it adjusts to global competition pressures, shares more with Vancouver and Montreal than it does with Dallas or Chicago. And if it is true that there is no such thing as a distinctive Canadian culture, how does one explain the popularity, even in Lutesland, of *tycoon* (the word) *Mattarino* (the Mac)?

What is evident to a Canadian living abroad is that other countries have at least as many—and often more—shortcomings. Germany is still recovering from wounds it brought upon itself five decades ago. Japan's government corruption has been brought to light by national cameras sowing its politicians, bankers and industrial bosses. As for the United States, the vaunted freedom it offers its citizens to win or lose on their own merits (and the whim of the marketplace) has produced alarming numbers of wealthy losers. Too many of them are dangerously convinced of leaders of all American value: the right to strike governments by force of arms.

What Canada finds especially at a selling, whether the commodities or wagers or national pride. Such great product. Such busy markets.



Malcolm Grey has been Moscow Bureau Chief since 1993

The sky is blue and the grass is green: most people smile, less smile and a visitor can wear a new pair of cream-colored trousers for three weeks—and not pick up a single speck of dirt.

Recognize the place? In this winter of discontent and regional dissent, many Canadians would not. But such impressions are commonplace among Russian tourists who have visited the northern half of North America this past year. To Russians and other former Soviet citizens, Canada remains a beacon of hope—a country that, in spite of its problems, has managed to get things done as of late.

Having prior of that sort can be an unsettling experience for expatriate Canadians. Many of us are more accustomed to Old World digs in the effect that Canada is but a dull suburb of the United States. But old anti-Americanism is commonplace in Moscow, and Russians are quick to discern differences between the two countries on either side of the cold war. Unlike Americans, they say, Canadians do not portray themselves as winners from a more advanced land, bringing to each others a backward society. And they generally regard Canadians as more flexible than Americans—ready and willing to adapt their skills to local conditions. As one Moscow-based Canadian diplomat put it: "Americans are always using the cliché about how it is better to teach a man how to fish rather than give him a fish. That's outrageous. Russians already know how to do things. We need to show them how they can do them better."

On the other hand, Eastern Europeans are familiar with current events in Canada are often fascinated by Quebec separatism and the threat to Canadian territoriality. From America to Vladivostok, wherever nationalists, radicals or nationalists have emerged across



Parliament fills peace and order, if not always good government

the old Soviet empire, former Soviets continue visiting Canadians with that issue, only the polar groups among doing a challenging one. Some go on to offer the vibrant director that dissolved Czechoslovakia—or a griller example—the "Mondelring in former Yugoslavia. Those developments are proof, they say, that the times do not favor federalism in Canada. They sit, also, "chilling towards break."

There are to be sure, considerable differences between Canada's

house industries and the old socialist nations of Eastern Europe, countries that were based together by the very grip of institutions. But even some of the most ardent nationalists within the old Soviet empire advance the hope that future governments will not remember Canada as simply a failed experiment in multiculturalism. "Anyway, they said, whatever happened to that other much-loved Canadian characteristic—a willingness to compromise?"



Senior Editor Andrew Phillips was London Bureau Chief from 1989 until October, 1993

A mid-level card, German engineer by the name of Gunter Eckstein might have put it best. In the summer of 1986, Eckstein had what may have been one of the worst jobs in the world—environmental director to the most polluted town in Europe, a filthy hole called Bitterfeld where the sun struggled with only modest success to break through the coal-black haze of a July afternoon. After a depressing morning showing a visitor around chemical dumps and smoking ponds, Eckstein said, "I don't want to be here, but I don't want to be anywhere else." "Canada is not more polluted," he said.

Dresses of clean water, fresh air, open spaces and decent lives. For most Europeans, especially those in the more rocky and cruder parts of the continent, Canada is not so much a real place as a dream upon which to project their fantasies, and a monetary mental refuge from their nightmares. It is not, therefore, for a Canadian seeking a quick boost to the sagging national ego to come away feeling pretty darn good. What are our problems compared with the so-called leads not badly troubled that plague so many head-of-state pieces of the world?

It does no harm for Canadians to take satisfaction from these reflections, and if it makes us think better of ourselves in the bleak winter when it may even do some modest good, that it means perhaps the most important point: that the true measure of a people is not the tribulations faced on earth by history, but the quality of their responses. And by that standard, a Canadian rearing against the bleak roses of some old Europe can just as easily come away feeling humbled.

Humbled by such people as a Czech priest named Václav Havel, suspect of the right to preach by a ship and an airplane, but never better and never more regretful when he and his friends joyously won their fight for freedom. Or by Gunter Eckstein in Bitterfeld, calmly waving against all odds to turn his poisoned home into something clean and decent. "Take those pictures of Alberta's oil fields at night!" Havel said recently, by my number of cameras, flowers and ordinary folk in the open air of Gorky Park. "I don't want to see those pictures of Alberta's oil fields at night!"

Beide such people, the plants of a Tassolman becoming the fact that his home is no longer working in love, or that he must say "no" on the path of a nation, or that his politicians travel the far from the few remaining clouds, do not seem quite as significant. So, if all means, let your eyes look at the country—and here to mind that even the most beautiful union has something to teach us, too.

THE NATION'S PULSE



In 1984, the first Maclean's year-end poll found that Canadians were proud and optimistic about the future. Who says nothing ever changes?

It is still the economy, stupid. In 1984, as *Maclean's* stepped its annual poll to take the pulse of the nation, a post-recession economy and the associated high unemployment dented Canadians' thoughts. In 1990, as the devastating effects of the worst global recession dominated the U.S. presidential elections, a race to compare voters by age of Bill Clinton's campaign miles—"It's the economy, stupid"—instantly resounded in Canada. And in November, when *Maclean's* gathered the information for its 10th annual year-end poll, it was once again the curious state of the economy, combined with double-digit unemployment, that concerned Canadians more than anything else. In the course of the decade, editor-in-chief Robert Marshall kept the nation's worry list—five times in 1988 and the environment in 1989 that took quickly returned to almost by. And in all that time, concerns about the economy and its most pervasive reflection on Canadians—an employer's sector—never slipped below second place.

But that outward appearance of cynicism is misleading. In fact, a broader picture emerges from the polling. Illustrating a fundamental shift in attitudes, in 1984, Canadians felt confidently optimistic as the country was dawning itself all other the 1981-1982 recession. "There was this sense that, now we've got problems, but we can solve them," says Allan Grigg of De Courcey Brown & Co., which has conducted the poll for *Maclean's* throughout its 30-year history. "People were saying things are bad, but there is no reason for them to be bad—it's all life, bad times." That year's pollsters found Canadians seem to have been lulled into a kind of pragmatic optimism. "Now, you've got people saying that maybe these problems aren't abnormal, maybe they're permanent, obvious things. And they're saying what we have seen so far, with an understanding of distinguished opportunity, rather than simply wishing or crying or wishing the problems would go away."

By sheer coincidence, the first 10 polls embrace the rise and decline of the Mulroney government. The project took shape in the summer of 1984, before the Tory political neo-phile Brian Mulroney trounced John Turner's Liberals in that year's September election, relegating what had been known as the National Governing Party to the opposition benches for most of the next decade.

Now, the 10th poll coincides with the Liberal majority—three electoral million on Oct. 25 of the remnants of the Mulroney government.

The 10 annual polls have tracked a nation on a roller-coaster ride. At the time of the inaugural inquiry, in 1984, people were proud and confident about their economic future. That starting in the late 1980s, the surveys showed a rise in pessimism and a sharp decline in the confidence Canadians have in public officials. Simultaneously, trust in the justice system grew. The 1992 poll made it clear that fear of crime in the streets, a hallmark of life in America, had spilled over the border, frustrating Canadians who already had their hopes dashed in an economic matters. The highlights:

- A decade of optimism: In the first poll, 73 per cent of respondents declared themselves to be optimistic about their economic future. That number bottomed out at 49 per cent in 1990, and the uncertainty of the national early debate was back up to 71 per cent a year ago, the last time the question was asked.

- A loss of faith in traditional decision-makers: In 1984, half of the respondents looked to government to take care of their economic interests. Since 1989, that number has been roughly halved—at most, 27 per cent. The business sector has stepped into the breach, carrying the hopes and dreams at 53 per cent of respondents when the question was last asked at the end of 1991.

- A sense of losing control: Two major labors were the expressed concerns about the environment, which rose to the top of the major issues in 1989, and crime. Between 1989 and 1990, the portion of respondents expressing fear of walking on their communities' streets at night rose from a quarter to a third. According to Grigg, these developments were particularly troublesome for many Canadians who were already upset by their belief in their better life that they had signed to in the mid 1980s. "Not only were they unable to achieve a lot of this quality of life they were seeking," notes Grigg, "but they have found it unsettling to see that quality of life at all—the clean countryside, the suburbs—being threatened by external resources."

The 10 polls also provided glimpses of how and why some well-known events of the past decade took place. Grigg points in particular to the 1986 poll, taken when it was clear that peo-



ILLUSTRATION BY BOB MARRAS

ple were cynical about the political system for one thing, 69 per cent declared that there was any meaningful difference among the mainstream political parties. "You didn't need a poll to tell you that people were cynical, but we asked people why," he says. "And to us, behind it wasn't because the system wasn't able to respond, which is what the right wing believed, or that people believed that politicians were not by itself, which is what a lot of the press believed. It was this notion that politics was completely self-absorbed." That cranky mood of the electorate drove cracks through the first three years to October's federal election. The 1992 election of the Charbonneau constitutional accord, which had been supported by all elements of the Canadian establishment, the emergence of the Reform party, the proliferation of the so-called new right agenda, the drive to make politicians more accountable were hallmarks of the poll since the 1990s.

Are you more or less proud of Canada than you were a decade ago?

- 25 **54** **20 +**
Less proud No more or less proud More proud

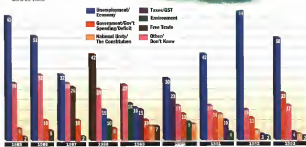
Over the years, the various polls examined Canadians attitudes about a host of other factors affecting society, including families and divorce (1986), for signs of AIDS, closer ties with the United States (1986), the risk of nuclear war (1987), environmental diversity products

(1988), the GST (1989), desired qualities of leadership (1990), the constitutional debate (1991) and immigration (1991). And most years there were questions about sex, mostly for the fun of it, but in some cases to shed light on some long-standing taboos and to uncover re-

sponses to the growing impact of AIDS (year 89). And as the first decade of Mulroney's annual polling came to an end, how did Canadians feel about their country? Not so positively as they were when the project started, they said. Asked if they are more or less proud of Canada than they were a decade ago, 25 per cent said that they were less proud, compared with only 20 per cent who said they were more proud. A bare majority, 51 per cent, also said they are less optimistic now about their future prospects than they were 10 years ago. Discouraging as the portrait is, for Incoming Prime Minister Jean Chrétien it is a considerably low platform of expectations from which to launch his government's assault on the problems weighing so heavily on Canadians. His ability to deal with people's problems and expectations will be judged in the only poll that counts—the next federal election.

ROBERT MARRAS

What is the most important problem facing Canada?



FRANKLY SPEAKING

Right from the first poll, it was clear Canadians 'will answer anything'

Most years, after proposing expansions with questions on such weighty matters as the Constitution and the deficit, the Maclean's poll turned to sex for variety. In the beginning, it was an expedition into virgin territory—a pollster had asked Canadians about their sex lives before. Debra's president Allan Grege was horrified by the prospect. "No way," he said as the project took shape in 1981. "People will hang up on us." But under pressure, Grege agreed to a small run. "We got the questions at the end of the form, after we had collected all our other information—no when they told us to get lost, we didn't lose all the other stuff," he says.

So this asked, too, what to show him. From first questionnaires, with notes on any comments by respondents. "The latest came and they were all completed—there were hardly any slips," recalls Grege. "That there was no way inside the question. Do you consider yourself sexually active?" It said. "Respondent wanted to know if we mean by himself or with others." I knew then people will answer anything.

Many also volunteered for follow-up interviews in which they talked frankly about their sexual appetites, fantasies, likes and dislikes. Right after they changed a previously unrecognized Canadian character: the ill-fated Newfoundland. Your alter ego, Newfoundlanders laid others in repeated frequency of sexual activity.

But there was also a humble spirit. In hovering over the topic, the threat of sex. From the beginning, the poll revealed a huge discrepancy between those who took extraordinary precautions to avoid the latter dinner, and others who kept insisting that AIDS would not affect their lives. Samples from 10 years of peering into the nation's bedrooms.

1984:

Q: How do you rate your looks on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the worst and 10 the best?

1	1%	9	2%
2	1	10	17
3	1	11	4
4	3	12	6
5	24	13	17
6	17	14	27

1985:

Q: Would you say you are satisfied with your sex life?

very	40%	not too	6
satisfied	40	not at all	3

1986:

Q: How many sexual partners have you had in the last year?

none	9%
one	21
two or three	9
four or more	6



1987:

Q: If you have been married or lived with a partner, have you ever had an affair outside that relationship?

Yes	12%
No	86
Refused to answer	2

Q: More you ever had sex with a stranger?

Yes	17
No	83

1988:

Q: What is the most attractive feature about the opposite sex?

	FACE	CHISEL	BOTTOM	LEGS
Male respondents	52	14	8	19%
Female respondents	72	11	9	2

1990:

Q: As far as you are concerned, is sex necessary for a happy marriage?

No	Yes	OK/NA
19	78	3%

Q: As far as you are concerned, is love necessary for a happy marriage?

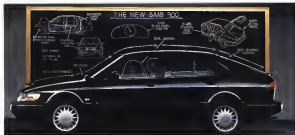
2	96	2
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1992:

Q: Would you describe the kind of sex you enjoy most as...

Romantic, with soft music and low lights	26%
Spectacular, on the spur of the moment	31
Friendly and very familiar	21
Passion, something you looked forward to	7
Sticky	3
A little bit rough	2
(EXCLUDES 'NO OPINION')	

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The instrument panel is smart enough to remember what it's there for. To help you drive without an overload of information for driving at night, you can switch off all instruments, except the speedometer and then concentrate on one thing: Driving.

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A survey of three days of worry and uncertainty demonstrates the mood of Canada's 28 million citizens as they contemplate the possibility that the next 10 years will make the past decade as an anxious time for the past and days. The 1993 edition of the Maclean's poll and poll shows how far we've come away from the national euphoria about our country and ourselves in 1981, when Allan Gregg of Toronto's *Examiner* first started to oversee these surveys. Back then, most Canadians felt lucky and confident, delighted to be living in a state of grace without pressure, worry, happy but for to Queen Elizabeth's, Page John Paul II and astronaut Marc Garneau, each of whom was touring the country that year. In the first poll, three-quarters of Canadians pronounced themselves satisfied or very satisfied with their economic lot and an even larger percentage was optimistic about the future.

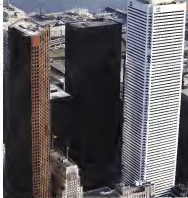
Having been the politician aboard Kim Campbell's campaign to oblivion, Gregg is himself much less certain about his forecasts than he used to be. "Making predictions is more difficult," he admits. "The experience you've gained in the past can be a liability. These days you can't get 80 per cent of Canadians to agree that today is today. I think I'll take some time off."

In fact, the volatility of the current situation has driven Gregg temporarily out of the polling business. And the only comfort to be drawn from his conclusion is that as one—including many who remain his special—except from it. No matter how many so-called experts predict their instant certainties across the nation's television screens, nobody knows what's really going to happen. No matter how authoritative the seasoned evening news anchors sound, they're only as wise as their *Teleprompters*, and if those machines were ever unplugged, they'd be sitting there with their mouths open, spouting the crazed look of evening guppies.

The other bit of perverse satisfaction is that we're not alone. Western Europe is in distress with 13 million unemployed roaming the streets of its nations' capitals. The Japanese economy, which was supposed to be the epitome of cool efficiency, is in such a state of panic that stockholders now spend much of their time praying at Shinto temples instead of trading. Sweden, our former model, as a middle. The once powerful Soviet Union's army retreating growth industry in strict demonstration. As well as soldiers from specific economic problems, governments the world over find themselves in deep do-dos because politicians have failed to keep the performance bond with their own citizens.

Lacking a framework within which to accommodate the insatiable appetite for change, Canadians are losing the best benefit of tradition. So far, this tradition has manifested itself mainly as a list, with as much as \$140 billion in sales and purchases vanishing annually into the underground economy. This layout of the 1993 and other letters is something more serious than anger about being taxed beyond endurance. Many Canadians feel as if a piece of their lives is being taken away from them without adequate compensation, and are in the process of reviving their consent to being governed by succeeding plagues of suits.

Taxation without fair representation is how we've



Delivered to authority because Canada's state-religion through the occupation of the West—initially by the Hudson's Bay Company and later by the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Monarchs and the bank branches that sprang in the tiny settlements clustered up at the shores of our rivers, on the lap of such mountains and near the shorelines of our lakes. Canada's frontier communities became company towns, leaving their inhabitants no choice but to live in the authority of a company institution. That experience indelibly stained our national character. It translated itself into a hesitancy to accept modernity, and the strong conviction that there is no greater virtue than a hard day's work well done.

In recent Canada's politicians governed with a formula mix in the minds of stretched a combination of creative hunking and success by indifference. Bill, the voters' indifference was rewarded by the state actually doing things for people—providing roads, railways and an extensive social safety net that included medicine. Once such radical acts as Pierre Trudeau's 1970 declaration of the War Measures Act to suppress Quebec's militant separatists was a reflection of Canada's deteriorated nature with preservation of stability and order placed above every other value, including individual civil rights.

It wasn't until the late 1980s and early 1990s—when it became evident that the state's hand had not held—could no longer deliver the goods—that the nation broke down. Popular expectations were frustrated by a political order that had ceased to function, at least in terms of its relevance to real people.

The dramatic point was the 1992 referendum on the Charlottetown constitutional accord. Here was a deal that had earned the support of just about every member of every elite in the country—political, economic and cultural. That vote that seemed to resolve its desire, Canada's rising up and moved. "No!" to the various establishments that had hardened them for so long with the yoke of deference, and defiance erupted in dissonant Charlottetown's constitutional compromise. They weren't suddenly lost as if he or she was a signpost of one.

The man who bore the brunt of nearly a decade's worth of public disdain was, of course, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. In 1984, when he won the prime minister's job, "Jean" had "John" as his first name, never long, except for the globalists' hands laid out to his friends. But another pledge made by the new PM in the House of Commons on Nov. 7, 1984—"I'm in 30 years, and you will not recognize this country"—came true with a vengeance. The government took away of the radical steps required to prepare Canada's economy for the 21st century, virtually reversing Canada's industrialization and reorienting it on a northward axis. It was a brave effort, but in the process Mulroney aroused more hostility and criticism than any previous Canadian politician since his own arrival. Because most of Mulroney's problems—enriching an unbalanced budget and the need to bring Quebec into the constitutional family—were inherited from the Trudeau years. But as John F.



Robert Corcoran, the mayor (right), Toronto bank towers (left), Brian and John Mulroney after the 1984 election (opposite); finally, spiteful and tough, Canadians have used the symbols that were tied them together



letters had expressed. One day, the Canadian Press service will be dispatched about a firing squad of major ministers dumping his wife's hairbrush. Not to worry. The social and economic losses shoving Canadian society are real enough and there's a neighborhood, angry country out there, determined to reflect back on its politicians. But this is Canada and even our revolutionaries suffer and bow down. What ultimately makes the promise of a revolution in a fundamental sense is a nation's virtue and personality. And that's precisely what's happened to the Canadian character over the past decade.

As a people and as individuals, we switched from defiance to defiance. With the personal empowerment that flows from their newfound maturity, Canadians have become cruelly spiteful and tough. "They're not only angry at themselves for having been too deceived for too many years," says Gregg, "they want to punish those politicians who made their dreams."

MACLEAN'S/CTV POLL

FROM HOPE TO DEFIANCE

Over the past decade, we have lost faith in the touchstones that once guided Canadian society

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Once or twice in the average century, like a hurricane that strikes the astrophysical charts, history conspicuously accelerates and blows away the touchstones by which people live. That's exactly what happened to Canadians between 1984 and 1994. Instead of being able to use past experience to predict future trends, at the end of that turbulent decade we sense the continuity of an age being lost. In the winter of our discontent, most of us believe that what comes now will be very different from what came before. While it's only better to be Canadian than anything else, every aspect of life is suddenly in question. The earth moved.

Manfredi were remarked about political life: "Nobody got used to it."

By last winter, Manfredi had realized that public opinion was frozen against him, and so he quit. When the Oct. 25 election rolled around, voters were determined to ouster him as influence. Like the players of a latter-day Great Dracula, they drove a stake through the heart of his party to make sure he would never come back. Manfredi's political life in Ottawa may have been that he politicized the country by providing a target to avowing that Canadians could blame him for every fallen soldier, but even so, popularity became the catalyst for change. New political parties and fresh voting alliances were springing up to ensure his swift departure from the scene. While he emerged as the man to hate, Manofredi was only the most visible agent—and most obvious victim—of Canada's revolution.

Something much more profound and much more fundamental was going on. Canada society's traditional values were being bitterly contradicted by the very institutions that were once its guardians. As racism and anti-Semitism persisted that they were being championed not just by politicians but by those in authority everywhere, teenage defiance turned into active defiance. What was involved was nothing less than a loss of faith in most of the institutions by which Canadian society had so recently been guided.

• The deadliest downturn since the Depression of the 1930s shook our belief in an economic system that only two decades ago had provided the world's richest standard of living. We had raised our kids to believe that the world would be there to shape, and that their lives would be better than ours. Now, all such bets are off. Two Canadans are emerging that of the early 1970s: one as a computer-literate, well-educated and mentally flexible man or woman who can handle the critical, sensitive characters of the information age—and everybody else. With fewer orders for and relatively expensive manufactured goods—and most commodity prices at 20-year lows—the country's economic prospects are grim. At least three million Canadians are currently unemployed or have given up trying to find jobs. The number of children living in poverty has jumped 50 per cent in more than 1.2 million; there seems to be as many food banks as McDonald's.

• The recent divisions of some of our blue-chip companies, including the many corporate scandals at Bell Canada and the disintegration of the once-powerful Reckittman, Compton and Toronto Dominion groups, has undermined the viability of what was once a model capitalist state. Despite the stock market boom, prices of many of the country's blue-chip companies hit the Therapist. Royal Bank's stock went from \$20 to 26 cents before its owners were given a decent burial by the Royal Bank, Bank of Montreal, dropped from \$18 to 13 cents, prompting its president, Marvin Marshall, to complain that it took six shares to buy a cup of coffee—or you could find a restaurant that would accept them.

• Not being certain of our own identity, we have traditionally imported foreign values, among them the measured dignity of the British empire that once gave her to the throne world-wide acclaim, and the respect for her to the throne world-wide acclaim, and the respect for her to the throne world-wide acclaim.

what was once English Canada's most significant overseas force.

• One of our few distinguishing legends concerns the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which in 1885 tapped the east-west link that first unified the country. No railroad now runs from sea to shining sea, or anywhere much outside Lake Ontario's so-called Golden Horseshoe, the CPR's new corporate symbol spreads its American flag. (Catching on to the fashion and American who make up the World Series-watching Blue Jays has turned out not to be quite the small equivalent of building the CPR.)

• Although never a military nation, we considered ourselves to be winning two world wars and earned international recognition for the composition of our "blue berets," sent out to calm the world's trouble spots. That great reputation died as a thin slice of East African desert named Somalia, where Canadian soldiers died accused of murder, rape and sexual exploitation.

• More than in most countries, the church has always been an essential sanctuary in isolation, with evangelical teams sent into our off-island lands to minister to natives and the isolated. Over the past few years, some 115 church officials have been charged with various degrees of sexual abuse. The most horror stories of isolated gropings by priests in cottages, churches and mission schools, evoked in courtrooms by victims now old enough to confront their tormentors, have triggered an unprecedented loss of faith in institutions where faith means everything.

• Once treated with the respect due our fiscal in-laws, the country's banks—the repository of our money and our conscience—turned greedy in the past decade, carelessly shoving billions of our hard-earned savings into the coffers of such now-grandiose high-rollers as Danco Petroleum Ltd., Compton Corp. and Central Guaranty Trust. In the case of the bankrupted bankrupt, real estate empires, the banks granted them credit of \$23 billion without even bothering to take a check peek at their balance sheets.

• There were other touchstones that cooled: the CTV license in American book league, some 775 Canadian diplomats—once considered our best and brightest—were caught slaving the pale by the pecking their expense accounts, the CMC, which used to give us Canada's seal, was downgraded into a shabby commercial network that deliberately ditched *The Journal*, its only worthwhile national newscast.

And so it went. Between 1984 and 1994, we cast aside the symbols that had once led us together. Worse, no new belief systems to replace old ones no longer needed, credible institutions were shoring the shore of their discredited foundations. Time the newly was stance of defiance provided no world ideology, except perhaps a road to war. "That out of this strange race," Gregg speculates, "has come a fatalistic and even cheerily attitude that points to the weakening of people's spirits." "Yeah, they're saying, 'Times are tough. That life goes on and we have to figure out how to deal with our reduced circumstances.' There's a lot of everything, including pride. But there's a real underlying sense of helplessness and a loss of faith in the future."

Despite the tough times compared with just about any other land on earth, Canada still is blessed with the mandate of heaven. ☐

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PRIDE AND PESSIMISM

Patriotism aside, many respondents say Canada is now a worse place to live



Results of the Maclean's/QTV poll by Decima Research are based on telephone interviews with 1,639 Canadian residents, 18 years of age or older, selected randomly across all 10 provinces. Supplemented by Decima research president Christopher Kelly, the survey was conducted from Nov. 11 through Nov. 30. To reduce the margin of error on a five-point Likert scale, sample sizes in the six less populated provinces were disproportionately increased. The percentages weighted sample on a national basis in 1,200 Canadians.

National results are considered accurate within a maximum range of 2.5 percentage points above or below the figures given. 18 times out of 20, accuracy ranges are wider for results from individual provinces or sub-regions or for questions that a significant proportion of respondents decline to answer. (Sampling was not undertaken in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories because results for each sparsely populated area would not have been statistically significant.) The results in both and charts are percentages of those polled, rounded off to the nearest whole number. For that reason, and because "don't know" and non-answer responses (O/N/A) are also rounded from some tables and charts, the total percentages in all cases may not add up to 100.

1. In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Canada today?

Unemployment	41
National debt/deficit	17
Economy	9
Theo/CSO	4
Environment	2
Crime	2
O/N/A	25

2. Would you say you are much more optimistic about the future, a little more optimistic, neither more optimistic nor more pessimistic, a little more pessimistic or much more pessimistic about the future than you were a decade ago?

Much more pessimistic	30
A little more pessimistic	31
Neither more pessimistic nor optimistic	17
A little more optimistic	35
Much more optimistic	7

3. Compared with a decade ago, are you more proud, less proud or so more or less proud of the country?

Less proud	25
No more nor less proud	54
More proud	20

4. Over the past decade, has Canada become a better place, worse place or no better nor worse place in which to live?

Worse	36
No better nor worse	49
Better	15

5. Over the past decade, has your province become a better place, worse place or no better nor worse place in which to live?

Worse	43
No better nor worse	58
Better	3
No opinion	2

6. Given a choice, which province in Canada would you live in?

British Columbia	27
Alberta	11
Saskatchewan	2
Manitoba	3
Ontario	30
Quebec	21
New Brunswick	2
New Scotia	4
Prince Edward Island	1
Newfoundland	2

7. Do you think of yourself as a Canadian first, or as a resident of a particular region or province?

Canadian	92
Regional resident	37
Provincial resident	53

8. In your view, in which province, if any, are people most likely to think of themselves as provincial residents first rather than as Canadians first?

None	3
Alberta	1
British Columbia	2
Alberta	1
Saskatchewan	0
Manitoba	1

Ontario	7
Quebec	72
New Brunswick	0
New Scotia	1
Prince Edward Island	0
Newfoundland	1
No opinion	2

9. Overall, how do you feel to live in Canada today as a result of the housing crisis, French and English, or in a relationship among the equal provinces?

Two feuding groups	49
Too equal provinces	46
No opinion	5

10. As you know, a new Liberal majority government was elected in the federal election on Oct. 25. Do you think the new government will lower any regional or provincial issues or others?

Yes	35
No	63

11. If 'Yes,' which region or provinces will it benefit? (Select respondents were free to mention more than one)

Regions:	
West	2
Central Canada/Ontario	8
Quebec	1
Atlantic Provinces	2
Quebec	17
Ontario	13
Others	7

Man, I'd like to read you a list of statements that different people have made at one time or another. For each one, please give me a number between 1 and 7, where 1 means you strongly disagree with the statement and 7 means you strongly agree. (The results shown are averages.)

11. My belief in God helps me in my day-to-day life. 4.77

12. In the end of the day, we have to look to government for solutions to the major problems we face. 3.87

13. Maintaining Canada's tradition of Christian values is very important to me. 4.68

14. Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we may die. 3.72

15. Women with young children should stay at home. 3.56

16. Children who are raised in single-parent households tend not to do as well as those raised in traditional two-parent households. 3.89

17. Canada wouldn't be any worse off if it became part of the United States. 2.68

18. Spending money and buying things gives me real pleasure. 4.54

19. Telling someone who is terminally ill to commit suicide should not be against the law. 4.62

Now, I'd like to read a list of things that people might do and for each one, please tell me if you think it is always OK, sometimes OK, OK as long as you don't get caught, usually not OK or never OK.

20. Read a book. Yes 14, No 25

21. Called in sick when you weren't. 5, 89

22. Had friends or family over for a planned no-drama dinner. 69, 31

23. Spent time out of doors exploring and enjoying nature. 76, 24

24. Worked for a charity or volunteer organization. 41, 59

25. Cleaned a bathroom, including the toilet. 81, 19

26. Attended a religious service. 47, 53

27. Involved in a heated debate on politics with friends or neighbors. 53, 47

28. Worked at a second job. 18, 79

29. Broke a violent movie. 21, 79

23. Telling an ethnic or racial joke. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 2; OK as long as you don't get caught, 2; Usually not OK, 17; Never OK, 50

24. Having illegal arguments or fights. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

25. Spending money and buying things gives me real pleasure. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

26. Children who are raised in single-parent households tend not to do as well as those raised in traditional two-parent households. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

27. Involved in a heated debate on politics with friends or neighbors. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

28. Worked at a second job. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

29. Broke a violent movie. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65



Kelly: seven out of 10 people in the survey saw themselves as 'Canadians' first

Now, I'd like to read you a list of things that people might do and for each one, please tell me if you think it is always OK, sometimes OK, OK as long as you don't get caught, usually not OK or never OK.

30. Cheating on taxes like avoiding paying for GST. Always OK, 4; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 5; Usually not OK, 31; Never OK, 55

31. Smoking marijuana. Always OK, 3; Sometimes OK, 10; OK as long as you don't get caught, 5; Usually not OK, 31; Never OK, 55

32. Having an extramarital affair. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 6; OK as long as you don't get caught, 3; Usually not OK, 30; Never OK, 80

33. Working on X-rated movies. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 6; OK as long as you don't get caught, 3; Usually not OK, 30; Never OK, 80

34. Having an extramarital affair. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 6; OK as long as you don't get caught, 3; Usually not OK, 30; Never OK, 80

35. Working on X-rated movies. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 6; OK as long as you don't get caught, 3; Usually not OK, 30; Never OK, 80

36. Failing to declare to Canada Customs any purchases made outside the country. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 5; Usually not OK, 31; Never OK, 55

37. Spending money and buying things gives me real pleasure. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

38. Children who are raised in single-parent households tend not to do as well as those raised in traditional two-parent households. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

39. Canada wouldn't be any worse off if it became part of the United States. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

40. Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we may die. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

41. Women with young children should stay at home. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

42. Children who are raised in single-parent households tend not to do as well as those raised in traditional two-parent households. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

43. Maintaining Canada's tradition of Christian values is very important to me. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

44. Involved in a heated debate on politics with friends or neighbors. Always OK, 2; Sometimes OK, 12; OK as long as you don't get caught, 9; Usually not OK, 9; Never OK, 65

car stuck on the side of the road, what would you do?

Stop and offer to help to push or tow the car out. 29
Stop but offer to make a telephone call for help. 23
Drive by, but call police or a towing service when you get to a service station or a telephone. 39
Just drive by. 9

Now, I'd like to read you some words or phrases that might or might not describe people in Canada. For each one, please tell me which province's people it is most likely to describe. (Read shows is most popular response, with percentage of total sample in brackets.)

35. Heavens or sky. Prince Edward Island (17)

46. Sophisticated. Ontario (44)

41. Hardworking: Ontario (20)
 42. Greivous: Ontario (21)
 43. Bored: Ontario (31)
 44. Complainers: Quebec (35)
 45. Nervous around: Quebec (42)
 46. Racially intolerant: Quebec (32)
 47. Violent: Ontario (32)

46. Over the past 10 to 20 years, would you say Canadians' attitudes on sexual matters have become...

- For more permissive: 43
 Somewhat more permissive: 30
 Stayed about the same: 20
 Somewhat more conservative: 30
 For more conservative: 4

48. Would you describe yourself as very sexually active, somewhat sexually active, not very sexually active or not sexually active at all?

- Very sexually active: 11
 Somewhat sexually active: 51
 Not very sexually active: 15
 Not sexually active at all: 13
 No opinion: 10

50. On average, how many times would you have sex in a month?

- None: 15
 1-5 times: 27

51. I'd like to read you a list of statements that different people have made at one time or another and for each one please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree

52. People should have more than one sexual partner before marriage

- Strongly agree: 6
 Agree: 33
 Disagree: 28
 Strongly disagree: 12
 No answer/No opinion: 21

54. In my view, it is totally unacceptable for a married person to have an affair

- Strongly agree: 25
 Agree: 37
 Disagree: 20
 Strongly disagree: 7
 No answer/No opinion: 7

55. It would be fine if one of my children turned out to be gay

- Strongly agree: 30
 Agree: 41
 Disagree: 26

- 6-10 times: 19
 11-15 times: 6
 16-20 times: 5
 21-25 times: 2
 26-30 times: 2
 31-35 times: 1
 No opinion: 33

53. Prior to having sex, most couples are involved in some form of foreplay. On average, how long would you be involved in foreplay prior to sex?

- No time: 4

Strongly disagree: 13
 No answer/No opinion: 9

56. It would bother me if openly gay and lesbian people were teaching in schools

- Strongly agree: 13
 Agree: 26
 Disagree: 40
 Strongly disagree: 11
 No answer/No opinion: 28

57. I think erotic magazines and movies can help make your sex life more interesting

- Strongly agree: 3
 Agree: 27
 Disagree: 48
 Strongly disagree: 11
 No answer/No opinion: 10

58. I would feel uncomfortable talking to my children about sex

- Strongly agree: 2
 Agree: 13
 Disagree: 30
 Strongly disagree: 52
 No answer/No opinion: 9

- 1-5 minutes: 5
 6-10 minutes: 7
 11-15 minutes: 30
 16-20 minutes: 9
 21-25 minutes: 2
 26-30 minutes: 33
 31-35 minutes: 2
 36-40 minutes: 2
 41-45 minutes: 4
 More than 46 minutes: 4
 Not involved in sex: 31
 No opinion: 28

52. On average, including foreplay, how long would you

- No time: 4

Strongly disagree: 13
 No answer/No opinion: 9

56. It would bother me if openly gay and lesbian people were teaching in schools

- Strongly agree: 13
 Agree: 26
 Disagree: 40
 Strongly disagree: 11
 No answer/No opinion: 28

57. I think erotic magazines and movies can help make your sex life more interesting

- Strongly agree: 3
 Agree: 27
 Disagree: 48
 Strongly disagree: 11
 No answer/No opinion: 10

58. I would feel uncomfortable talking to my children about sex

- Strongly agree: 2
 Agree: 13
 Disagree: 30
 Strongly disagree: 52
 No answer/No opinion: 9

personally say each one of your sexual encounters last?

- No time: 2
 1-5 minutes: 1
 6-10 minutes: 3
 11-15 minutes: 3
 16-20 minutes: 5
 21-25 minutes: 2
 26-30 minutes: 4
 31-35 minutes: 4
 36-40 minutes: 10
 More than 41 minutes: 17
 Not involved in sex: 9
 No opinion: 34

50. I believe prostitution should be legal

- Strongly agree: 30
 Agree: 34
 Disagree: 30
 Strongly disagree: 14
 No answer/No opinion: 8

60. Any good romantic relationship requires frequent sex

- Strongly agree: 7
 Agree: 37
 Disagree: 42
 Strongly disagree: 6
 No answer/No opinion: 9

61. There are things I would like to try sexually that I have not tried yet

- Strongly agree: 4
 Agree: 39
 Disagree: 45
 Strongly disagree: 8
 No answer/No opinion: 34

62. Masturbation is a healthy part of one's sex life

- Strongly agree: 6



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teams have been preoccupied with reinventing them. This could explain why our MagicWagons have the distinction of

Are we there yet?

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ratings in North

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PRICE FIGHTER

**JOHN CROW LEAVES
THE BANK OF CANADA
BUT HIS SUCCESSOR
VOWS TO KEEP A HARD
LINE IN THE FIGHT
AGAINST INFLATION**

Canadians have been carrying Gordon Thorsen's name around in their wallets and purses for years—without ever knowing it. Since 1986, the year after he became senior deputy governor of the Bank of Canada, Thorsen's stylish signature has adorned the lower left corner of the country's paper money. Last week he stepped out of that elusive role and prepared to fill one of the hottest seats in Canadian economic life: premier of the central bank. On Feb. 1, Thorsen will take over from Bank governor John Crow, who withdrew his candidacy for a second seven-year term in a move that took financial markets and many political observers by surprise. At the same time, though, Thorsen left no doubt that he will maintain the tough inflation-fighting policies that turned Crow into a controversial symbol of economic hard tactics. "Price stability remains the objective," Thorsen said briefly moments after he was named to the top job at a starting salary of \$252,000.

Both the substance and the timing of Thorsen's appointment provided a deft solution to one of the new Liberal government's wildest political dilemmas. In opposition, many Liberals had been sharply critical of Crow for jacking up interest rates in 1989-1991 at a time when the economy was falling into recession. Crow's departure removed an awkward reminder of these policies but left nothing but a soft bank veteran like the 45-year-old Thorsen (pronounced too-say) to deal with the inflationist and revisionist that the Liberals were not about to drop from the dissonant struggle and narrow. And the timing of the announcement—two days before the extended Christmas-New Year's break—ensured that financial markets had plenty of time to digest the



Thorsen (left), Martin, "more willing to work on winning you over"

news with their holiday diaries. "If you look at it from a strictly political point of view it's a very elegant compromise," said Leo de Beyer, chief economist with Monnaie Canada Ltd. "The Liberals got rid of Crow but they kept his monetary policy." Immediate reaction was positive: the Canadian dollar closed almost half a cent higher against the American dollar.

The government also won by getting rid of Crow without having to have fired him out. As the clock ticked towards the end of Crow's term on Dec. 31, Finance Minister Paul Martin insisted that he had not made up his mind on the banker's future. On Dec. 3, Martin told *Maclean's* that he still needed to

talk more to Crow, and as late as the beginning of last week senior Liberals continued to say privately that Crow was lobbying to stay on. By then, however, Crow had already told the finance minister that he did not want to be considered for a second term, and Martin and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien had agreed on Thorsen as Crow's successor. Speculation was rife in Ottawa that Martin's apparent flinching over the decision was actually calculated to give Crow to depart in frustration. Martin himself denied that outright, maintaining that Crow's reasons for stepping aside were entirely personal. The government himself contained his customary policy of stony silence, refusing to

answer any questions about his departure.

That personal style was at least part of the reason for Crow's departure. The governor acquired a reputation as a remote—erotics and acronym—man with little patience for those who could not quickly grasp the need to defeat inflation and little time for managing the spin of politicians. In his rare appearances before parliamentary committees, he made few concessions to public relations or the need to win over opponents. Thorsen, though appearing the very model of a prin-

ce, stated goal: reducing Canada's inflation rate to below two per cent a year and establishing the Bank of Canada as one of the most respected central banks in the world. At 1.9 per cent, Canada's inflation rate is now among the lowest in the industrialized world. In a past statement, Martin and Thorsen as ministers that they intend to hold inflation at between one and three per cent, with a midpoint target of two per cent a year, until 1996. That was precisely the same target figure that Crow and the Mulroney government agreed on in February, 1984.

The result, according to many deflated financial circles last week, is that bank policy under Thorsen will be at least as tough as it was during Crow's tenure—and quite possibly tougher if inflation threatens to rise again in two or three years. "If anything," said senior bond trader at a major international investment firm, "it will be more cautious. The government has decided that the policies which they, of course, thought against are all correct. The way they get around the life bus that they are in is to stiffen Crow, and then leave it at a new place in even worse than Crow." Some Liberals who had been critical of Crow, however, held out hope that the change signals a tilt towards easing credit. Toronto 30 Dow Jones Mills recalled the plight of businesses when the bank rate reached 14 per cent in 1980 and some credit-limited small firms in bankruptcy. "What we heard from small- and medium-sized businesses was that they were dying from this draconian tight-fistedness," said Mills. "We think we can now approach this issue with a little more leniency."

While there may be little to choose between Crow and Thorsen in economic philosophy, they came from much different backgrounds. Crow, 55, came from a working-class family in the east end of London and immigrated to Canada only in 1973. Thorsen, in contrast, was born in the city northwestern Ontario town of South Parkville. A first lieutenant in the Canadian army, he came to Canada in 1955, and passed in a succession of small towns in Saskatchewan. After graduating from high school in 1955, he went to work for the Royal Bank of Canada in the small town of Weyburn and Sylvester, but soon went back to school to study economics at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon.

He joined the Bank of Canada's research department in 1963 and later earned a doctorate in the London School of Economics. In 1967, he was named senior deputy governor, the bank's number 2 position. Thorsen has spent more than half his life working in the marbled atmosphere of the bank, but he keeps an unusual reminder of his Saskatchewan roots in his office: a whimsical sculpture of a cow by artist Joe Palato. He may need that sort of humor as he now job.

ANDREW PHILLIPS with AMYNDARY WILSON SMITH and LOUIE FISHER in Ottawa and JENNIFER DALGLISH in Toronto

Canada Notes

AN AMBITIOUS AGENDA

Canada's premiers left their first meeting with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in Ottawa in an upbeat mood, plotting greater cooperation in a wide range of issues. Among other things, the first ministers agreed to a formula to jointly finance a two-year, \$6-billion infrastructure program that they said could create 65,000 jobs, reach a five-year deal on transfer payments to the provinces by the spring, eliminate interprovincial trade barriers by June, reduce the federal Goods and Services Tax and end duplication of tax collecting by Ottawa and the provinces as quickly as possible.

'BETTER MEDICINE'

Federal Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin announced that end fishing in most parts of Atlantic Canada will be suspended in 1994 because of depleted stocks, a move that will allow about 35,000 fishermen unemployed. Tobin also stated that an most other groundfish species are extended indefinitely a two-year ban on northern cod fishing off Newfoundland, which was supposed to be lifted this spring. Observed Tobin, "Scientists tell us medicine is needed to restore health."

DAVIS INFT DEADLOCK

John Davis, then chief of Davis Industries, refused to fly on Greater Bay to meet federal finance minister Brian Martin after Davis cancelled a scheduled trip to the troubled community. Davis decided to abort the trip following a Dec. 16 incident in which 150 Delta jets showed up and another of the buses which a ground crew was supposed to be lifted this spring. Observed Tobin, "Scientists tell us medicine is needed to restore health."

THE PIRKS OF DIPLOMACY

Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Gauthier moved to end extrajudicial spending by staff at Canada's 52 missions abroad. His remarks came after CTV News broadcast details of the 1981-82 diplomatic nights obtained under the Access to Information Act. Among the findings that diplomatic staff in London spent \$500,000 decorating their own houses, that a new computer was in the office, that there were about \$100,000 in \$10 bills, and that the home of Canada's consul general in Seattle includes a garden worth \$750,000.

'YOU HAVE TO KNOW THERE IS A FUTURE'

In a conversation, Jean Chrétien says he wants to make Canadians feel good about their country and themselves



What are Jean Chrétien's goals and what does he say? And why won't he say, "After, read Hillary Clinton"? The Prime Minister dismissed that and other questions during a press-and-interview session in his Parliament Hill office with Maclean's editor-in-chief Robert Levis and Ottawa Editor Geoffrey Wilson-Smith. They began by discussing the challenges that Chrétien and his associates will face as soon as the House of Commons resumes sitting on Jan. 22.

Maclean's: What are your top priorities in your first session of Parliament as Prime Minister?

Chrétien: Jobs are my main preoccupation—to make more work available for the people who badly want to work. But you cannot escape the fact that we have a financial problem. And it is a problem that is not unique to Canada. For example, our federal deficit is less than most of the countries in Europe.

Maclean's: What would you say is a priority for you that isn't already accomplished or under-considered? What specific advice would you give the public?

Chrétien: I would tell him that he has to better himself, to use training if it is available. We're spending more than anybody else on the development of education and training. We don't have the result that we would like, but we're spending the money.

Maclean's: But a lot of people are training and still can't find jobs.

Chrétien: Of course, but I've said to them, "If you don't have a job to try to take the initiative and create a job." A lot of people have been great successes because they found themselves without a job and decided to create one. But in order to do that, we have to make risk capital available for people who want to start businesses. I'm not down on Canada. I would tell a young Canadian that there's hope here. There's problems in every country of the world.

Maclean's: What's your assessment of the huge salaries and compensation that top Canadian business receive?

Chrétien: Well, for me it's a lot of money that they run big businesses. They are also the ones who caught all the time that we're spending too much money. I remember one day when I was minister of finance a president of a bank was complaining about government spending. On that day, they revealed that his bank had something like 40 or 50 non-performing loans. I said, I don't know, but the government of Canada and we only have 30 cabinet ministers, and you're complaining.

Maclean's: There is a lot of talk about the need for stronger Canada's social programs. What do you think needs to be done about welfare?

Chrétien: Well, it's a management problem. If you compare our situation with the United States, we're much better off. We have a problem and perhaps we need better definition and clarification of the program. But the principles have to be the same—social security and care for everybody, and accessibility. These are the issues in place.

Maclean's: What about welfare?

Chrétien: I'm against them. The problem is you start with very little fuel and you move up a bit more and a bit more and eventually that becomes a detriment for some people who are sick, to use the system. It's a method to control costs. But in fact, one could argue—and it was the case in Saskatchewan when they tried it—that it's more costly than before. We have to try avoiding bureaucracy as well. In the United States, they have a very bureaucratic system, and their health costs are 14 per cent of GDP, compared with 9 per cent here. They cannot do what we've done because there are too many entrenched interests in the system and they cannot break it because they have their political base.

Maclean's: What about changes to the unemployment insurance program? For example, there's a \$200-million cost in potential drains, which was added two or three years ago. Very popular, obviously, but are these kinds of things now considered expendable?

Chrétien: I don't want to go into the details of that, but first-hand experience [for any funds] is over. The only new program of this nature that we had in our first book [containing the Liberals' campaign promises] was day care. And day care is an economic program as much as a social one, because if you have day care, you have day care and you have day care and you have day care.

Maclean's: In terms of cutting the deficit, do you have a number in mind for the kinds of cuts that have to be made?

Chrétien: My goal is to reduce the deficit to three per cent of GDP. That's the goal in the Red Book, and it's difficult. **Maclean's:** But immediately, do you have a sense of what you need to do? Is there a number—\$2 billion, \$4 billion?

Chrétien: No. I have a number of finance. I'm going to let him do his job. That's the way it should work. We changed all that. All the recommendations will come to me from the PCO [Public Control Office] and we will have a problem there. We will do that. I say, "You have a number and a department ask them what they will do with this problem and let them come with a solution and if you don't like the solution, we'll have a meeting with the minister."

Maclean's: What about changes to the unemployment insurance program? For example, there's a \$200-million cost in potential drains, which was added two or three years ago. Very popular, obviously, but are these kinds of things now considered expendable?

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That's the way the system should work. **Maclean's:** You really believe that?

Chrétien: Well, why have ministers and senior bureaucrats if you don't see them [rejecting] activity? I have seen, when I was minister of Justice Affairs, Trudeau called me and said, "Jean, you've not been to the office in a year." I said, "You gave me a job to do. Anything wrong?" He said, "No." I said, "That's why I'm not calling you. I'm the minister." Well, after that he started to give me a lot of responsibilities. But he would give me a problem and I would do my job. And if you're not good, you're out. That's the way.

Maclean's: You have not been Prime Minister very long, but what do you say about the job in fact?

Chrétien: I think it's an achievement. It was not a dream of my youth like some people who were told by their fathers and mothers, "You will be the next prime minister." My father wanted me to be in politics, but I never thought I would be that high that now I'm sitting here, and it's a fantastic opportunity—to create a better system in the nation to make the Canadian people feel good—not that we'll solve all the problems, everybody knows it, the people are not fools. But in order to do it, you have to do good, you have to know that there is a future. I don't know if I will be successful. We'll know at the end of the process.

Maclean's: And what do you like best about the job?

Chrétien: The security. Everywhere I go, I have bodyguards. I'd rather not have them all of my career. Now, I cannot refuse. And that is something to my wife and I because we're private, very private people. I like to be alone with my wife and my kids. They like the security afforded me very nice and well-disciplined, but they are there all the time.

Maclean's: As a personal issue, what do you do to relax?

Chrétien: I relax easily. I'm not a very tense person. I once have said I don't sleep very well and I know to relax. I read books. I sleep well, very well.

Maclean's: How chosen to your wife. What is obvious to everyone who knows you. Do you always play dominoes with her?

Chrétien: Oh yes, we discuss these things quite often. She reads the newspapers, she's quite knowledgeable about politics and sometimes about government too, because she knows so much about it. But she does not want to be a Hillary Clinton type, you know. She might be a very good one, but she's not interested in that. She says, "You're the politician and I'm not."

Maclean's: It's clearly the most important relationship in your life. But how would you describe it?

Chrétien: Well, we've been through a lot. She was 16 when I met her and I was 18. She was my girlfriend for five years and we married and she's been a big part of my life. She takes our holiday alone. I guess I know I was away for business, but never went on holiday alone, except perhaps to go fishing for a couple of days. □

'A lot of people have been great successes because they had no job and decided to create one'



WORLD

A CHANGE OF HEART?

THE IRA CONSIDERS A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE IN ULSTER

Rear Gerry Reynolds had a Christmas message for his Roman Catholic parishioners in Belfast's terrorist-infested working-class neighborhood: beware the sin of selfishness. With Northern Ireland teetering between peace and yet more war, indifference towards the latest proposal for ending the sectarian conflict could indeed have deadly results. "Selfish could cause people not to read the joint declaration, and to let others decide for them whether it is good or bad," warned Father Reynolds.

He need not have worried. The joint declaration—a Dec. 15 agreement between the British and Irish governments to allow the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to set a new price tag in return for a ceasefire—was on

everybody's lips last week in Northern Ireland. As expected the offer was criticized by some Irish politicians trying to compile the peace presents or worse make for themselves from it. But opinion polls showed that an overwhelming majority of people in both the Republic and Northern Ireland said they approved of making a deal with the IRA. "First of all, they want an end to the killing that has claimed more than 3,100 lives over the past 25 years—and they want it now."

Those who must heed Reynolds's words are the deep thinkers in the days ahead as the politicians writing the political code of the ceasefire. All year long, the IRA acted through its political wing, Sinn Féin. But, at last, with weary of war and ready to seek an

impossible peace. Suddenly, the joint declaration has put them on the spot. "We have set down on the table a greater marked peace," said British Prime Minister John Major during a one-day visit to Ulster last week. "The map is on Sinn Féin to pick it up."

But Sinn Féin seemed unsure of its footing. Party leader Gerry Adams played his time, saying that there would be widespread consultation within the republican movement before any IRA response was announced. Then, he proceeded to demand more concessions from the UK and Sinn Féin, more all than plausible. First, he demanded the joint declaration for an influx in trade to a province that Britain would try to persuade Ulster's Unionists to accept incorporation into the Republic of Ire-

land. No one expects a British prime minister to agree with a public posture. "The British government may want to get out of Northern Ireland," said Irish commentator Colm O'Brien in an interview with *Melburn*. "But as British politicians want it to continue on their watch."

Adams then turned his sights on securing a guarantee of amnesty for about 180 jailed IRA members. Major refused to consider the request. Reducing sentences or even freeing prisoners is almost sure to be part of any final solution. But without a ceasefire, limits that there might be amnesty for men and women convicted of bombings and shootings would only inflame public opinion and diminish support for negotiations with the IRA.

While uncertainty surrounded the IRA's political response, its war on the ground continued. In the week following the release of the joint declaration, the IRA exploded a land mine in Londonderry, just missing a British army patrol and sending five civilians to hospital to be treated for shock. Another British patrol came under bomb attack in Belfast, leaving two people wounded. And IRA bombs threats and incendiary fire forced large parts of the city's transit system to shut down during the hectic pre-Christmas week.

The violence without pause points to the challenge Adams faces in trying to convince all the IRA gunmen to swing their armed struggle for the negotiable.



Adams, a British soldier in Belfast (opposite) searching for a realistic solution

per. A decision to renounce violence could easily provoke a split in the IRA, separating the leadership from a core of hardliners, believers who must continue to kill. But Adams himself needs the ceasefire—or at least the cover of agreeing to seek a peaceful solution. For one thing, even a temporary IRA ceasefire would force the Irish government to lift its ban on allowing Sinn Féin politicians to support an administration in the Republic. That would allow Adams to try to recover some support among those Irish nationalists in the north who have turned away from Sinn Féin and the IRA to revolution against increasingly ruthless violence. 1978 in the Irish Republic took that route, while releasing the long-suffering island of a united Ireland, now was it only with the peacefully obtained consent of the Protestant majority in the north.

There are clearly some gains for Irish nationalists in the joint declaration. For one thing, it recognizes the IRA's long-standing demand for Irish "self-determination," acknowledgment that the island's constitutional future is a matter for the people of Ireland alone to decide. And the agreement asserts that Britain has no economic interest in ruling Northern Ireland. That pledge of British neutrality against Ulster's Protestant community, which wants to stay part of the United Kingdom. Several Protestant politicians condemned the deal more vociferously than Rev. Ian Paisley, who offered in effect, "to lay off British republicans soon." But James Malpas, leader of the province's largest anti-sect party, has offered his cautious endorsement. He was mollified by the declaration's assurance that any change in the province's status would first have to be endorsed through a referendum in Northern Ireland, where Protestants form a majority.

Any such drastic changes are well down the road. The short-term goal of Major and Albert Reynolds, his Irish counterpart, has been simply to stop the killing. Last week, there were still reported cases warning that the two men had been duped by IRA provocateurs. "Adams would be a coward, if only to have the broadcasting ban lifted, but the people who are doing the killing are never interested in stoppage," said O'Brien. "Anyone agreeing then will be a coward, if only to have the broadcasting ban lifted, but the people who are doing the killing are never interested in stoppage." "Anyone agreeing then will be a coward, if only to have the broadcasting ban lifted, but the people who are doing the killing are never interested in stoppage."

But there are others who believe that IRA volunteers have truly tired of the fight. "They have things to sort out amongst themselves, but I think they will say yes to this offer," said Father Reynolds. The peace is in a good position to page the mood: he is a member of the Clonard monastery in Catholic west Belfast, which has long had contact with the IRA and whose prior advised the Irish prime minister during his negotiations with Major. "The IRA wants to write," he confided. "They know that there is no military victory to be had. That they are still looking for something in the British area that would be cause for a deal."

The prospect that the IRA has had a change of heart is tantalizing, although it strains credulity. For British and Irish politicians it is a new opportunity for peace that had to be explored. But last week's hands—and Adams's bluster—were a reminder that the military in Northern Ireland will not be bludgeoned by words and wishes alone.

DORICE WALLACE in London

World Notes

YELPSON DEMANDS KID

Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree abolishing the security ministry. The Ministry Secret Service (SSR) and replacing it with a new federal counter-intelligence service. The security ministry has been criticized for failing to predict the stunning success of ultra-national leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's victory in Dec. 12 parliamentary elections, as well as for its passivity during an armed revolt by hardline legislators in October. The ministry was formed to replace the KGB after the failed hardline coup in 1991 against then-Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

CUTTON DENIES WHOREDOGDOM

U.S. President Bill Clinton denied that he had used official perks to conduct and cover up extramarital affairs when he was Arkansas governor, but otherwise refused to address new allegations of past infidelity. He was responding to published charges by two Arkansas state inspectors that he had lured Clinton's attorney second daughter, which reflected in controversy about Clinton's alleged womanizing that dogged him in his year's campaign.

A HIGH-LEVEL DIRECTOR

The United States granted political asylum to Alan Fernandez Revuelta, a daughter and orphan child of Cuban President Fidel Castro. Fernandez, 35, defected during a visit to Spain. She is the daughter of Castro and actress Nati Fernandez, whom the Cuban leader never married.

DIPLOMATIC TIES

A historic agreement with Israel was under negotiation, granting the Jewish state the official recognition it has long sought from the Holy See. The agreement is expected to lead to the establishment of diplomatic relations with their Israeli. But it is Jewish President Peres Weizmann exchanging personal remarks before the appointment of full ambassadors in 1994.

A TANGING PROMISE

Former U.S. federal lobbyist Ray Jagan's bid to succeed Los Angeles defense secretary may miss political winds when it was disclosed that he paid \$2,000 in actual security costs for his housekeeper only after his nomination. Last year, however, David Howell in California's first election as attorney general, it was it was disclosed that he failed to pay taxes for her household help.



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Residential construction in Vancouver: mortgage rates should stay low

BUSINESS

A YEAR OF MODEST ROWTH

A PANEL OF ECONOMIC EXPERTS EXAMINES THE OUTLOOK FOR CANADA IN 1994

Forecasting any phenomenon a year in advance is a risky proposition at best. Last January, publishers interviewed by the *National Enquirer* supermarket tabloid predicted that singer Kathy Lee Gifford would replace Jay Leno as the host of *The Tonight Show*, and that the Hubble telescope sighting the Earth would discover evidence of alien beings living on a large asteroid. In Ottawa, then federal finance minister Dan Munnichewski forecast that the federal budget deficit for the 1993-1994 fiscal year, which ends on March 31, would be \$32.6 billion. As well, seven out of a group of eight leading Canadian economists surveyed by Maclean's offered deficit estimates ranging from \$29 to \$35

billion. But on Nov. 28, Munnichewski's successor, Paul Martin, said that the total would likely fall somewhere between \$64 billion and \$46 billion. In handouts, the rights and sales of the Maclean's panel, Toronto-Dominion Bank vice-president Paul Geller, offered perhaps the most realistic models of the economy, as well as other sources—warily or otherwise—to assess the year ahead. And Martin's has converted the same eight economists into last year for their forecasts. All kidding aside, the economists' forecasts for size other key indicators, including the unemployment rate and the value of

the Canadian dollar, proved to be more accurate than their different projections (page 16). And however reliable or unreliable any economic forecasts are, business executives, government ministers and individual Canadians use them to help make financial decisions involving billions of dollars.

This year, as they were last year, the economists are guardedly optimistic. They all forecast slightly greater economic expansion in 1994 than the estimated 2.5-per-cent growth in 1993. But they add that few Canadians will notice the impact of that growth in their pocketbooks. After taking inflation into account—and the inevitable increases in tax—average individual and family incomes will likely remain level again this year for the third year in a row. Said Gilles Seccy, chief

economist of La Monnaie, the Montreal-based financial services firm, Que. "People don't feel the recovery yet."

To elaborate on their predictions, each of the forecasters answered 10 questions that Canadian economists ask as they ponder the year ahead. In addition to Geller and Seccy, the panel members include Gerry Ngwanya, president of the Canadian Energy Research Institute in Calgary; Lloyd Atkinson, chief economist of the Bank of Montreal in Toronto; Brian Crowley, president of the Halifax-based Atlantic Provinces Economic Council; Michael McCracken, president of Ottawa-based Informatica Inc.; George Pedersen, president of G. A. Pedersen & Associates in Vancouver; and Alexander Sam, chief economist of the London Life Insurance Co. in London, Ont. The questions and a summary of the group's responses.

1. WILL I HAVE A JOB?

The consensus is probably: While the economy appears to be climbing out of a recession, the growth is unlikely to make a significant dent in the unemployment rate this year. Some companies are hiring, but only just enough to match the expansion in the labor force. That means that the rate will stay at double-digit levels. Still, Atkinson said that "90 per cent of the people who have jobs now will have them at the end of the year." But he and the other economists warn that some sectors are still in the middle of painful bouts of restructuring and downsizing (page 16).

2. SHOULD I BUY A HOUSE?

The answer from most of the economists is "Yes," as long as the purchase does not stretch the family budget. With interest rates at their lowest level in three decades, and house prices in most Canadian cities lower than they were a year ago, it is clearly a good time to buy. But the economists disagree on how long bargains will last, and whether or not mortgage rates will drop even further. Pedersen advises anyone sitting on the fence to buy "sooner rather than later." He added, "You're not going to get the same combination of factors like this again." Geller agrees. "Although mortgage rates may drop a little more, it really isn't worth waiting for," she said. But McCracken urges buyers to take their time. "Housing is not likely to be a good investment in coming years since inflation will be very low," he said. "Mortgage rates in such an environment will remain low."

3. SHOULD I BUY A NEW CAR?

Statutes Canada declared the recession of officially over last January, that despite a surge in exports and big declines in interest rates since then, overall economic growth has remained slow largely because consumers continue to have postponed purchases of cars, appliances and other big ticket items. But they can ease in safely at least some of that, says Seccy. "I don't see any reason to be nervous," he says. Atkinson, the average car on Canadian roads is now more than six years old—a post-World War II record. "The repair business is booming," he said. "But for a lot of people,

Business Notes

PWA BRINGS AIR CANADA OFFER
Calgary-based PWA Corp., a private company of Canadian Airlines International Ltd., rejected a \$250-million offer from Air Canada for Canadian's international routes. Instead, PWA executives sought to close a deal whereby the Toronto-based parent of American Airlines, AMR Corp., would acquire a 25-per-cent stake in Canadian for \$245 million.

GAINERS WORKERS ACCEPT FIRM
Unions at work in the troubled Canadian meat-packing plant in Edmonton voted to accept a three-year wage freeze. Alberta Premier Ralph Klein had warned that the plant would close if workers rejected the deal. Throwing 1,200 people out of work. The vote paved the way for a proposed purchase of the plant by Calgary-based Borden Foods Ltd. from the Alberta government, which took over Gainers four years ago after then-owner Peter Toddington defaulted on an \$80 package.

CRS PONDERS JOE CUTS

CRSTV announced that it will downsize its sports division after losing a contract to telecast Sunday afternoon NFL football games in the Fox network, which bid \$300 million a year, against CRSTV's \$335 million, for a four-year contract to show National Football Conference games. NBC retained rights to American Football Conference games.

WIN ONE, LOSE ONE

Bombardier Inc. of Montreal announced that it will proceed with production of a new long-range 120-seat executive jet, backed by 30 firm orders at \$88 million each. The company also confirmed that a proposed high-speed rail line between Houston and Dallas, for which Bombardier was to have built 54 high-speed rail cars, has been shelved.

AVERTING A FARM WAR

Agriculture Minister Ralph Goodale said that he wants to settle a dispute over new tariffs on dairy and poultry products with U.S. officials before the issue comes to the courts. Under the new NAFTA trade accord, Ottawa plans to replace import quotas, which protect 37,000 farmers, with large tariffs beginning in 1995. Those tariffs—as high as 561 per cent on butter—would be reduced by only 15 per cent in 1995 before the issue could arise. But the tariffs should be eliminated by 2008 under provisions of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

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BUSINESS

These firms are now going too high? However, Addison and the other economists caution that many companies, like businesses and governments, are still paying off big debts left over from the 1980s.

4. WILL I GET A WAGE OR SALARY INCREASE?

Most of the panel economists predict that average wage and salary increases in Canada will be very small again this year—nowhere between one and two per cent. But they add that the average managers will make more, but decreasingly. Government employees at all levels will likely face more freezes and raise hikes. In the private sector, many large manufacturers are still downsizing, so raises are in a weak bargaining position.

In the growing service and high technology sectors, some employees could receive better upgrades. "With all the restructuring going on, there really is no incentive any more," said Peter Dineen, a McGraw-Hill economist who adds that in almost all industries, companies are trying to pay more explicitly in productivity.

5. WILL THE COMPANY I WORK FOR EARN A PROFIT?

One key economic indicator that jumped sharply in the last half of 1993 was corporate profits. And like his counterparts, London, Edlin's Sam says that there will be another slew of double-digit profit increases when many Canadian companies publish their annual reports in February. But he added: "You've got to keep in mind that they're starting from a low base." As well, many of these profit jumps stem from painful cost-cutting efforts, rather than higher sales revenues. "The game in town now is to keep your where they are and not down or up," he said. As a result, Sam says that companies will think more about rehiring workers or heading out large wage increases. Also, the profit jumps will likely vary widely among sectors and among regions. Said the Canadian Energy Research Institute's Argente: "Generally, companies in the health, computer, telecommunications, legal products and materials industries will fare well. Businesses in Western Canada will do better than those in most other parts of the country."

base-based mutual funds also perform well. Stocks trade in an open market, and as rates decline, bond prices tend to rise to match the returns on stocks and other debt or investments. Still, many members of the panel are leery of offering any investment advice at all. "I'm a professional," said McCreid. "Don't take to economists' general generalized advice." When asked to guide the year-end value of the TSX 300, Gertler replied, "Only God and insurance know."

6. IF I HAVE MONEY TO INVEST, SHOULD I BUY STOCKS OR BONDS, OR PUT IT INTO A GIC?

At first glance, the choice seems obvious. With interest rates in the single digits, the guaranteed returns on bonds and GICs look

poor. As a result, Canadians are pouring billions of dollars into stocks and stock-based mutual funds. That stampede pushed the Toronto Stock Exchange 300 stock index to record levels in 1993, and most of the economy's product sales share prices will climb higher next year. But all of these seem that buying stocks is always a risky proposition. "It's simply nervous about mutual funds," said Addison. "They have pushed the rate of share prices to earnings per share to unsustainable levels." Addison and others all agree that interest rates decline further, say a percentage point or two, bonds and

THE SCORECARD

McGraw-Hill's asked eight economists to predict how the economy will perform in the New Year. The average of their forecasts, compared with those of a year ago and actual performance in 1993.

	1993 Forecast	1992 Year End	1993 Actual
Unemployment rate	11.8%	11.6%	12.6%
inflation rate (CPI)	3.2%	3.6%	3.1%
Canadian dollar (vs U.S. dollar)	75¢	76¢	74¢
Federal budget deficit in billions (fiscal year end Mar. 31)	\$32	\$48	\$26
Canada's GDP growth	2.8%	2.8%	3.4%
U.S. GDP growth	3.0%	2.4%	3.1%
TSX 300	3,657	4,259	4,639
Prime rate	7.5%	6.8%	6.8%
Five-year mortgage rate	6.8%	7.76%	7.0%
Five-year GIC rate	6.4%	6.25%	6.3%

McGraw-Hill's asked eight economists.

*1993 Year End figures are based on preliminary data.

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7. WILL MY TAXES GO UP? WILL ANY TAXES DECREASE?

Economists are rarely unanimous about anything, but all of them agree that taxes are bound to rise in 1994. But said all the panel said that both Ottawa and the provinces are worried that they are testing the tolerance of Canadians for new taxes. As a result, the

TECHNOLOGY UPDATE

900 MHz breakthrough!

New technology launches wireless speaker revolution...

Receivers develop breakthrough technology which transmits stereo sound through walls, ceilings and floors up to 150 feet

By Chris Arnes

I should like to state just one new product "the most innovative of the year" which would you choose? Well, at the recent International Consumer Electronics Show, once you give Receiver's new wireless stereo speaker system the Design



Breakthrough wireless stereo design. Receiver's new wireless stereo system.

Group sound throughout your home. Just imagine being able to listen to your stereo, TV, VCR or CD player in any room of your home without having to run miles of speaker wire. Plus, you'll be able to enjoy about 100 feet because the new 900 MHz technology allows stereo signals to travel over distances of 100 feet or more through walls, ceilings and floors, with no loss of audio quality.

100 foot range through walls!

Receivers gives you the freedom to listen to music wherever you want. Your music is no longer tied to the stereo you own. It's now in your hands. You can listen to your TV, stereo or CD player while you move freely between rooms, upstairs or downstairs, and still enjoy the same sound. You can listen to a live event with the Internet. Just plug your 100 foot range. The technology and receiver have you built in receiver, so no wires are needed between you and your music. One receiver operates an unlimited number of speakers and headphones.



Receiver's transmitter works through walls to deliver superior sound. Receiver's new wireless stereo system.

Recently approved technology. In June of 1993, the Federal Communications Commission allocated a band of radio frequencies for stereo listening. In-home product applications. Receiver, one of the world's leading wireless speaker systems, took advantage of the FCC ruling by creating and introducing a new speaker system that utilizes the recently approved frequency band to transmit digital stereo signals throughout your home.

One transmitter, unlimited receivers. The powerful, universal receiver plugs into a headphone, universal or laptop jack on your stereo or TV component. Transmitter music wirelessly to your speaker or headphones. The speakers plug into an outlet. The set transmitter can be used to an unlimited number of stereo speakers and headphones.

And since each speaker contains its own built-in receiver circuitry, there are no wires running from the stereo to the speakers.

Fast dynamic range. The speaker mounted in a bookshelf—two-way dynamic range, provides a two-way reflex design for individual bass boost control. Fast dynamic range is achieved by the use of a 1" tweeter and 1" woofer. Plus, automatic digital lock-in

timing guarantees optimum reception and distortion-free. The new technology provides stereo-free, interference-free sound in virtually any environment. These speakers are also well-matched, they can't be blown out or cause what your stereo's working.

Stereo or hi-fi, you decide. These speakers have the option of either stereo or hi-fi sound. You can use two speakers, one set on right channel and the other on left, for full stereo separation. Or, if you just want an extra speaker in another room, set it on mono and listen to both channels.

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AWARD WINNING WIRELESS SPEAKER

Receiver's new wireless stereo system. The receiver is a small, portable unit that can be used in any room of your home. It can be used to listen to your stereo, TV, VCR or CD player while you move freely between rooms, upstairs or downstairs, and still enjoy the same sound. You can listen to a live event with the Internet. Just plug your 100 foot range. The technology and receiver have you built in receiver, so no wires are needed between you and your music. One receiver operates an unlimited number of speakers and headphones.

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Maybe this year?



BUSINESS

Chretien government will likely try to slash spending by cutting transfer payments to the provinces. The provinces, in turn, will reduce funding to municipal governments. So which sector will feel "social taxes, picking taxes, you name it," said Professor. "It just gets pushed down to municipal governments—who push it down to taxpayers."

8. AFTER TAKING INFLATION AND TAXES INTO ACCOUNT, WILL THE BETTER OFF AT THE END OF THE YEAR THAN I WAS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR?

Probably not. Crowley put it most succinctly: "You'll be worse off, but not by too much."

9. WHAT'S THE BIGGEST DANGER ON THE ECONOMIC HORIZON?

Although most Canadian economists have been railing against the "D" words—deficit and deficit—for years, even they now sound a little wary when talking about them. Get it, for one, will raise the spectre of international creditors suddenly packing against Canada, and provoking a currency crisis as they pull money out of the country in droves. But other members of the panel worry that governments will be too aggressive in slashing spending. Said Professor: "If they cut too much, it could undermine confidence in the recovery." Much of that recovery so far has been based on exports. But San notes that Japan and Europe, Canada's second- and third-largest export markets after the United States, are still reeling at recessions. On a personal level, the greatest risk is that individuals will be caught in the ongoing transformation to the New Economy—dominated by services and knowledge-based industries.

10. WHAT'S THE BEST REASON FOR OPTIMISM?

Canadians have international currency markets to thank for much of the recovery so far. "Getting the dollar back down to 75 cents put us back into the game," said the CIBC's Boney. He and the other panel members say that the low dollar should help manufacturers and resource companies again this year by lowering the price at their products down on world markets. As well, while Europe and Japan are still struggling, the U.S. economy appears to be gaining strength. And while the economists still debate whether or not Bank of Canada governor John Crow's high electronic-bidder interest rate has claimed too many casualties, the current low interest and inflation rates are bound to pay dividends at some point. Said San: "I realize that this won't translate into a hell of a lot for the common man this year. But it will in the long term." Until then, most Canadians can only comfort themselves by speculating about the riches that may be in their future.

JOHN DALY

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Prediction for 1994: Canadian neo-punks

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The heralded legacy of the Great Recession is that it brought Canadians face-to-face with the uncomfortable realization that the old approaches to jobs and life don't work any more. Having been unable to resolve our collective self-doubts, instead of continuing the search for a national identity, Canadians have become determined to live their own way. That last sentence, of course, is correct in the face of often explicable odds: as declining—or vanished—work markets. For many Canadians, the very act of survival became a form of validation for the future.

Each new year means a new start and renewed hope. 1994 is no exception. Even if no early boom is in sight, for the first time since the economic downturn of 1980 there is reason to look ahead with restrained optimism. Here are some of the signs and portents that point the road to the future.

•**Don't Win A Lottery. Become A Cosmonaut.**—It's experts that are killing the recovery and even if growth were to spectacular in 1994 we'll grow faster than any other industrialized nation. More and more laid-off and overeducated professionals and seniors (seniors will have out their savings as independent contractors). In the coming years, employers will be tapping these part-time resources primarily in earnest, realizing it's the only way to grow without assuming unreasonable corporate overheads. For consultants, being liberated from the 9 to 5 grind will allow us to work in the comfort of home, will mean a new and richer lifestyle. By the end of this decade, fully half of Canada's labor force will be part-timers. To spread around the staff work that still exists, companies in 1994 will start to institute a four-day, 32-hour week.

•**No More Winning On The Job.**—The old jobs about how you can tell when a child or vast worker—when he opens one eye—will range from among too many of the 27 million

Body piercing will move into the mainstream, with safety pins in the nose and gold rings through the nipples

homeless. In 1994, expect the mass of civil servants employed by the three levels of government to undergo restructuring similar to that of the private sector. There will be state-wide layoffs, essential service strikes and much turmoil. Starved for revenues, governments will turn on their own.

•**The Banks, Will They Take Over The Country?**—The quick answer is YES. In the 1980s, the Big Six banks took over every major Canadian industry: housing, in the beginning of the 1980s, they assumed control of nearly every major bank company in the country; in 1994, they'll start buying up the large insurance companies. Within the next 18 months, the so-called four pillars that once characterized Canada's financial institutions will become giant pyramids, with the banks having grabbed nearly all the disposable financial clout there is. Their veto power will be enormous because anyone who requires senior financing will have few alternative sources for funds.

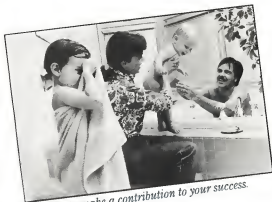
•**Heading In On The Transnationalists.**—The multinational corporations that have dominated world commerce are rapidly being replaced by transnationalists that have no loyalty to any home country—no matter

where their head office happens to be. They exercise little accountability and operate strictly on the basis of where they can find the cheapest suppliers and most productive labor. According to a recent United Nations study, fully one-third of the world's private sector productive assets are already owned by these unbridled mega-corporations. They practice "free production," which removes the meaning of borders, since no one knows what sovereignties they should be based on or which national laws should govern their operations. Held together by computers and fiber optics, they float above most of the corporate nations that can be applied to their destructive competitors. (Canada has only four true transnationalists: Seagram's, Alcan Inc. Co. of Canada Ltd., Best Inc. and Thomson Corp. But other conglomerates that may qualify include Northern Telecom Ltd., Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd., Bombardier Inc., George Weston Ltd. and Power Corp.)

•**Dying With The Most Toys.**—One of the trends that will become even more pronounced in 1994 is revulsion against luxury spending. The attitude that blossomed in the 1980s—that more is better and that progress, efficiency and monetary gain should be the ultimate goals of human activity—will be repudiated with a vengeance. If the slogan of the 1980s was "He Who Dies With The Most Toys Wins" the motto for the 1990s will be "He Who Dies with The Most Toys—Now Begins."

•**The Politics Of Begging.**—Even though he holds a majority, Jean Chrétien will have to spend most of his energy begging with—or begging—members of the Reform party and the Bloc Québécois for support. Governing Canada is no longer as simple as winning votes on the floor of the Commons and any policy shift will require a renewed national consensus. With Lucien Bouchard determined to become first president of the Quebec Republic and Premier Manning set to be the next prime minister, this will be an easy guess. The global crunch will come in the month with that Martin first budget, a document that will make former Tony Blair's minister Michael Wilson look like Santa Claus. The best hope is that all parties will be led by Clyde Wells's incentive guaranteed annual income scheme, but don't bet it is. In Quebec, Liberal Premier Daniel Johnson will be beaten in a spring election by Jacques Parizeau, triggering yet another constitutional crisis. The Parti Québécois will lose the subsequent independence referendum due in 1995.

•**Hide Your Daughters.**—Body piercing is about to move into the mainstream of fashion. The last half of the world's leading models—Naomi Campbell, Christy Turlington and Tanya Manero—showed off their pierced belly buttons on the fall's fashion runways has moved the punk-rock body art to the mainstream. Body decoration, first worn by the Sea Brides in the 1970s, will become fully mainstream, complete with safety pins through the nose and gold rings through the nipples. And you thought tattoos were the living end.



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At home alone: a new way of life

Before separating from his wife 18 years ago, Rob Hellerichin did not welcome the prospect of living alone. And even now, Hellerichin, who moved to Winnipeg a year ago and maintains a long-distance relationship with a woman who still lives in Toronto, admits that "there is no question it is lonely at times." But as a self-confessed workaholic, the 45-year-old marketing director at a TV station says that he has learned to appreciate the freedom of living by himself. "I like the flexibility, frankly," he says. "I work 18- or 11-hour days, and I don't have to worry whether that will mess up my schedule." In his spare time, Hellerichin is remodeling the kitchen in his home, a five-bedroom house that backs on to the Assiniboine River. "It's clearly more fun than I need, but I look at it as my investment," he says. The nightmare, however, look on it as a bit of an oddity. "They are very nice people, but this is a fairly-oriented community," Hellerichin notes. "They tend to view me as weird."

At the time, living solo was considered more than unique—it was downright suspect. Such people, it was rumored, were probably too rigid, too selfish, to share a household with another human being. But the winds of change have swept through Canadian society, leaving open the "typical" family. Nowadays, couples are marrying for the first time later in life, divorce has become commonplace and married advisors have enabled greater numbers of seniors to live healthier and longer. As a result, Canadians are increasingly setting up households on their own. With the growing numbers of home-alone men, many have grown concerned of their lifestyle—and a growing realization on the part of wary marketers that they are a niche worth catering to.

The numbers tell part of the story: in the years between the censuses of 1966 and 1991, single-person households grew at more than double the rate of households with two or more people. The 1991 census showed that 2.1 million Canadians lived on their own, an increase of nearly 19 per cent from 1986. In comparison, all other house-

holds, including common-law couples and two-parent families, grew by just over one per cent in the same period, to 7.3 million.

People who dwell solo fall into three main groups: never married, separated or divorced and without custody of children, and widowed. Among the never-married, some are simply taking their time. The men aged 41 at first marriage in 1990, for women and 38 for men, an increase of more than three years from the early 1970s. In broad generalizations, those who never marry at all but live as unmarried partners: they tend to be poor men or well-to-do women. Susan McDowell, a sociology professor at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, said that historically men have married women who are lower on the socioeconomic scale, leaving fewer choices if they are already at the bottom of the ladder; women have tended to marry up, entering that option if they are at the top of the ladder.

On the other hand, people who married once and then divorced tend to take the plunge again and not live alone for long. A more stable group among those on their own are people over 65. Seniors, buoyed by better health and government income security programs, are now less likely to live with their grown children, opting for independence instead.

For all their differences, those living alone share some common experiences. Karen Smith, a 46-year-old Vancouver high-school teacher, says that the main drawback is other people's attitudes. "There is a widespread myth that living alone breeds selfishness," she says. "I have had to do with the question, 'Am I being selfish?' People's attitudes, however, seem to be changing." When he conducted a study on how families are formed, says Rodric Beaugre, a sociology professor at the University of Western Ontario in London, most people questioned preferred to live in a close relationship. But the 1989-1990 study also showed widespread acceptance of others who preferred to live alone. That, Beaugre notes, is part of a broader change in attitudes towards outcasts and the family. For outcasts, marriage was essentially an economic and legal institution,



Meneguati: Whenever anything goes wrong, there is no one else to fix it.

don't sit at home after all, and a lot of food gets wasted."

Many single shoppers share Dupont's problem. Susan O'Dell, a Toronto retail consultant, points out that warehouse outlets, catering to the family trade, can offer food in bulk, juggling traditional grocery stores to counter with their own bulk packs. As a result, it is more expensive to buy some foods—such as chicken breasts and cheese—as small quantities. Still, O'Dell notes, retailers are developing ways for single shoppers to save. One local grocery program rewards regular customers for a minimum of purchases at The Food Cup, a halfway chain of office shops, every eleventh purchase of the same size—whether a cup of coffee or a bag of beans—is free. Other retail chains tend to bulk, but wrap everything individually

In fact, there are a wide array of goods and services specifically targeted at consumers living alone. Consumer College in Kitchener, Ont., for instance, offers a one-day seminar on "The art of living single." The \$50 course provides information on topics ranging from community activities to travel organizations that cater to solo travellers. In August, syndicated U.S. newspaper columnist Heloise published her book, *Homeside: How to Thrive in Solitude*, in which the household chores tips include how to cook for one and store meals when space is limited. And for those with concerns about cardiac emergencies, Edmonton-based Lifecall of Canada promises "help at the touch of a button" through its interactive telecommunications system. Packages can be rented, as per-charged for anywhere from \$300 to \$1,300, plus monthly fees of \$25 to \$30. Brad Spence, president of the five-year-old company, says that more than 80 per cent of its 6,500 customers live alone.

Now, more and more people who live alone are making what is likely to be the biggest purchase—their own home. According to the Royal LePage Realty Survey, singles bought 32 per cent of the houses purchased across Canada in the first nine months of 1992. After 15 years of living in trailers, Norma Meneguati, 41, bought her own cheap duplex in central Toronto in 1977. Meneguati, a communications consultant, says this she particularly likes being part of a community where her neighbors are concerned about her well-being. Still, she admits, running a home can be a burden. "Whenever anything goes wrong, there is no one else to fix it," Meneguati says. "It's all up to me—and I'm not particularly handy."

Even the prospect of making planners rich has not stopped singles from basting on impact on the real estate market. Evelyn Prosser, an agent with Royal LePage in Vancouver—the city with the highest proportion of single buyers in Canada—says that start developers have started building smaller, one-bedroom condominiums with prices starting in the \$100,000 range. At the same time, townhouses are a popular choice for those who are divorced or separated—but who are accustomed to living in a detached house. "In a townhouse," says real estate analyst Ryan Carl, president of The Corporate Research Group in Ottawa, "you can have many of the same features of a larger single-family home—a large bathroom, an extra kitchen—but without all the maintenance."

But the most appealing of homes cannot make up for a lack of human contact. "Those who are socially isolated are more likely to have health problems," warns Edmonton's McDowell. "They don't look after themselves as well." Augusta Neely, 76, who lives by the ocean, says, "People, I've lived on my own in a comfortable western Ontario apartment building since the death of my husband. John there was my support. But now I'm alone. I'm a very effort. You have to make up your mind that you're going to do things, put yourself out a little," says Neely. "I think I go out more than I used to and get together with people more." Her occasional bouts of loneliness, Neely adds, are balanced by a newfound freedom. "You can do what you want to do, go where you want to go, eat what you want to eat," she says. "There is no one to tell you what to do or where to go." But there is at least one problem that she used to be the disappearance of a lifestyle that is increasingly common.

BARBARA WICKENS with SHARON DOUGL DEXTERER in Toronto

All the rage in '93

In case you missed them first time around—a reminder of the year's gems

Compiling best-of lists can be an exercise in frustration—as many films from which to choose, so few spots in each category. Undaunted, *Weekend's* entertainment section editors and critics offer their personal choices of 1993 highlights:

Films

1 **The Piano** Jane Campion's sensual, gothic tale of 19th-century innocence in the New Zealand South is enchanting, original and near-perfect. With her performance as a mute, Holly Hunter has a luck on the Best Actress Oscar.

2 **In the Name of the Father** Daniel Day-Lewis, teaming up again with director Jim Sheridan, plays John Gacy, borne up the screen as Belfast's Gerry Conlon, who spent 14 years in jail for a terrorist crime he did not commit. Emma Thompson plays his lawyer.

3 **Short Cuts** Literary perils and marital woes are mirrored by Robert Altman's sharp-edged reconstitution of Raymond Carver. They missed the point it's sad, devastating view of America unraveling into apocalypse.

4 **Schindler's List** Fantasy merchant Steven Spielberg grows up and tackles the reality of the Holocaust. Brilliant black-and-white photorealism. Exemplary acting from Liam Neeson, Ben Kingsley and Ralph Fiennes.

5 **The Age of Innocence** Martin Scorsese finds exquisite repression in the neo-noir of Edith Wharton's New York City Circle. Day-Lewis and Michelle Pfeiffer ride the art of eroticistic mania. To avoid for.

6 **Fourteen Hours** War's culture drama about planes crash survivors is better than therapy. Jeff Bridges, Rosie Perez and Isabelle Huppert shine in the emotional light at the end of the tunnel.

7 **The Remains of the Day** Anthony Hopkins and Emma Thompson reunite in a delicate adaptation of the Kazuo Ishiguro novel. As his brother who didn't die, Ishiguro employs new flavors of emotional restraint.

8 **Much Ado About Nothing** Shakespeare has never been so much his. Kenneth Branagh and Emma Thompson (his everywhere) make a scorching comedy under the Tuscan sun.

9 **Pineapple Fish** A lezard, slow-simmering gem of a film by John Sayles. A coyote-spirited Mary McDonnell acts as a soap-opera star who retreats to the Louisiana

bayou swamplands after being double-crossed by an accident.

10 **Farwell My Concubine** and **M. Butterfly** Chen's Cui Kang and Cui's David Grossberg spin wildly different signs of cross-ethnicity. *Peeping Opera* stars with sexual odors, metamorphosis in a drag.

Fiction Books

1 **The Stone Diaries** Playing with biographical techniques, Carol Shields has constructed a small miracle of a novel about an ordinary woman, a testament to the many ways life can be lived.

2 **The Rubber Room** Margaret Atwood's dark social comedy of three women haunted by a true female fate is seductively entertaining.

3 **A Suitable Boy** Short-trailor novelist Vikram Seth's 3,349-page novel about low-class families, a monumental work reminiscent of Austen and Tolstoy.

4 **For Those Who Breathe the Wounded Woods** The best art tragic novel from David Adams Richards focuses on a backwoods car man striving for redemption.

5 **Green Grass, Growing** Walter D. Mignolo's King Henry's concrete, myth, historical revision and an unconvincing love story in this endeavor tale of love life.

6 **No Other Life** Bruce Mearns's evocative tale is both a political thriller about a fugitive resembling Jesus-Bertrand Arthaud and a moving portrait about the nature of faith.

7 **Headhunter** Timothy Findley invents an absorbing tale that begins with the evil Nazis from *Heart of Darkness* reincarnated as a brilliant, unscrupulous detective in downtown Toronto.

8 **Paddy Clarke's Ha Ha** An acknowledged master of comic dialogue, Booker Prize winner Roddy Doyle branches out with an affecting story of an Irish boy's life.

9 **Away** Spanning two countries—London



Top-left: Pfeiffer (left); Paddy (below) personal choices from *Weekend's* critics and entertainment editors

2 **Systems of Symbolic: A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics** Toronto-based Jane Jacobs argues provocatively that blurring the boundaries between government and business inevitably leads to corruption and inefficiency.

3 **I Am a Father** In coming to grips with his French Canadian father, a shyly displaced adolescent, Clark Stone writes beautifully of family, desperate cultures and the legacy of the past.

4 **An Evil Cradling** A Beirut hostage for almost 4½ years, Beirut native Brian Koppelman



masterfully evokes his despair, his moments of respite—and the humor that saved his sanity.

5 **George Grant: A Biography** William Christen portrays this radical Tory, one of Canada's pre-eminent thinkers, as a man struggling to reconcile his Christian faith with his secular thought.

6 **Miss Overboard: True Adventures with North American Men** Canadian Ian Brown's funny, engaging explanation of a new and not-so-new idea takes him to the edges of social experience, where he talks to plastic surgeons, gun stars' Ties

7 **Conrad Black: A Life in Progress** Despite convoluted sentences and a thesaurus-driven vocabulary, the newspaper millionaire is refreshingly revealing about himself and his dealings.

8 **Culture of Complaint: The Frying of America** Lament critic Robert Hughes delivers a brilliantly crassly interpretation of the disappearing social trends in contemporary American society.

9 **Memoirs** Despite substantial shortcomings, Pierre Elliott Trudeau's book offers a unique interpretation of the prime's pivotal events by the *Revived and Reviled* One.

10 **Bloodlines: A Journey into Eastern Europe and East into History: A Journey Through the New Eastern Europe** Edmontonian Myra Kossow, who is of Ukrainian descent, and New Yorker Dan Hoffman, who was born in Poland, both explore a region undergoing profound upheaval.

Pop Recordings

1 **Too Long in Exile** Van Morrison's eclectic music evokes swinging blues and songs by W.B. Yeats and Seamus Heaney, plus Celtic and jazz.

2 **When I Was a Boy** Full of extended faces—dark and troubled, stoney and hopeful—this is Joe Strummer's most challenging, yet wraparound, most accessible offering.

3 **Zoozoo** Soprano Tré abandons the middle of the road and head straight for the ditch of alternative music, where—surprise—they discover a lower new world of rock.

4 **Pale Sun, Crescent Moon** Toronto's Cowboy Junkies kick the habit of slow country in favor of more robust songs sung by the musically diverse Maria Thelma.

5 **Joanaze** With the help of veteran popsters David Byrne and Ray Jagers, rapper Guru farges an exciting new fusion

of jazz and funky hip-hop.

6 **This Time** Rhythmic hipster Dwight Yaskin serves up a chunk wagon's worth of tasty tracks, including low-tech ballads and hokey-rock ballads.

7 **A Meeting by the River** East meets West as America's By Cowler teams up with East Indian V.M. Bhatti in a breathtaking collaborative summit.

8 **For the Beauty of Myrene** There's a desirable quality to the latest by Daniel Lanois, who has found his own soul and a headline, country-music rock sound.

9 **All the Worst** Steve and Shaggy have been the chart-toppers, but rapper duo Chaz DeVon and Pheer boasts the sweetest dance-ball sound of all.

10 **On the Floor of Heaven** With soulful, fiery Brotherhood harmonies and take-down Great Northern-style country-rock, Vancouver's Blue Shadows strike a winning chord.

Jazz

1 **Wish** Playful with his humor, witman Charlie Haden, Billy Higgins and Pat Metheny, points Joshua Redman's personal dream and cracks an affair of rare beauty.

2 **Blue Light '93** Dave Cassanova Wilson has one of the most subtle, subtlest voices in jazz, in who proves with this soulful gem.

3 **ODE to Life** Spiritual, rhythmic and vocally rich to the last, the latest by Don Pullen reflects the jazzman's experience stations in Latin, Africa and Brazilian styles.

4 **No Near, So Far (Dissuade for Miles)** A warm tribute to the genius of Miles Davis, led by inner soulmate Jay Henderson who, like others on the recording, approached with the passion.

5 **Don't Smoke in Bed** While Cole draws new listeners with her wailing ballad attitude to once-ignored standards.

Classical

1 **Bruckner: To Dream, Mass in D Minor** Blaming, majestic, otherworldly, yet thoughtful performances by various soloists and the Cordoba Singers and Orchestra.

2 **Reichmanian: Symphony No. 3, Symphonic Dances** The St. Petersburg Philharmonic's Gidon Kremer, soloist, fiercely dances accounts—both on-stage and on-stage—of the Russian composer's two big masterpieces.

3 **Venetian Vespers** Giovanni, vibrant choral music from Monteverdi, Canali and others, as it might have been heard in St. Mark's Basilica, Venice, in 1600—masterfully performed by the Gidon Kremer & Players.

4 **Brigadeiro** The London Sinfonietta, along with soloists and the Amsterdam Chamber brass great Gidon Kremer, in the most beguiling of American musicals, by Lermer and Locke.

5 **Swan Lake** The symphonic version of Tchaikovsky's first ballet music with further lustre to the reputation of the Moscow Sinfonietta Orchestra and its recording engineers (T).

The northern muse

Edited by Greg Gurnsey
 (Special Canada, 400 pages, \$29.50)

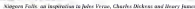
like Canada," Hemmingsway enthused in a wryly affectionate postscript he wrote for the *Toronto Daily Star*, where he was a reporter in the early 1920s. *They are so subtle Americans. They go loose at night. Their cigarettes [sic] don't smell bad. Their bath oil. Facilities. Immense in Toronto to be an RAF fighter pilot during the first World War. These people are wonderful to him. In fact, in the short story "The Killers," which was never published, it was set in the Queens county. While Carter felt that Quebec City was more idealized than any place in America. Discovering its venerable culture and business*

These literary reactions to Canada appear in *The Wild is Always There*, an anthology edited by the director of Toronto's renowned Harbourfront Reading Series, Greg Gasterdy. The book's stories, essays, letters and poems play right up to the national weeknws for

Writers
swoon over
the Canadian
landscape

Naturally, there have been exceptions. The English poet Rupert Brooke referred in 1913 to "this useless Dominion," and another British author, Eud Raymond (the creator of *National Velvet*), remembered Canada in her 1969 autobiography as "naïve, lovable" and "longer to be praised."

However, most of Gutwirth's writers praise the expected Canada's wilderness. This country contains some of the last places on earth where people can still confront nature as it has existed for thousands of years, a fact that foreign writers there seem to find exhilarating. Granted, none of them have put Canadian nature to almost any The Victorian adventure writer Jules Verne spent less than a day in Canada, he visited Niagara Falls, yet he made it the setting for scores of novels, novels. Gaudy has chosen an excerpt from *The Fur Country* to illustrate what he calls Verne's "theatricality."

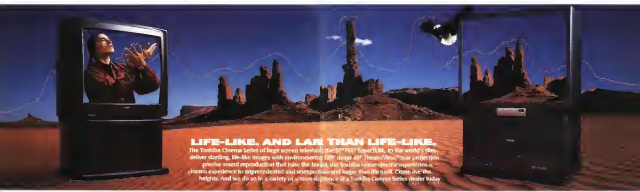


Other authors have made much more eloquent use of the Canadian landscape. In 1877, the American naturalist John Bourne's award essay over Quebec's des-

The finest piece in the anthology is Pansclaustra, a moving short story by the con-

Another distant worshipping the urbane American novelist Henry James. Like Charles Dickens before him, he was provoked to create by the sight of Niagara Falls. Writing in 1871, he was fascinated by the "travelling green break of the precipice: so the vulgar gleam of earth when the summer day is in artificial dyes," and "and is in fact, so sacred, its remote solitude is that." Despite the clutter of barrels and stores, James felt that being into the heart of the wild. On the face of Gorey's mythology Canada is left to march the world.

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CINEMA SERIES



Scene from *Daguer*: the producers make an effort to sugarcoat the disaster

TELEVISION

Reckless disregard

DIETPE
(CBC, Jan. 2 and 8, 8 p.m.)

Dietpe sits like a scab on the Canadian conscience. We pick at it constantly, never permitting the wound to heal. If it ever does, the war will remain forever—and so it should. Of the 4,983 men of the 2nd Canadian Infantry Division who set out for the French seaside resort on Aug. 16, 1942 along with a handful of Americans and several hundred British commandos, 3,367 were killed, wounded or captured. The slaughter was terrible, and ever since, historians and survivors have tried to determine why. Why Dietpe? Why a raid in August after the cancellation of one in July? Why so little air and naval fire support? And above all, why the Canadians?

The CBC's two-part, four-hour special does not provide any definitive answers. Loosely based on Graeme Macdonald's 1994's excellent *Disasterhead: Action, Misadventure and the D-Day Raid* (1994), Dietpe is equally a drama, not a documentary. And so the villains are even more self-serving than in real life, while the heroes—the Canadian soldiers—are even more stoic in their lives and poignant in their deaths. Fictionalizing history works in Dietpe—it did not in the documentaries *The Valley and the Horror* (1960). CBC TV's last attempt to tell Canadians their Second World War history.

That program mixed dramatization with what was intended to be bullet-proof fact. The result, in the eyes of many veterans and historians, was a badly biased misrepresentation.

Dietpe, written by John Kesteven and directed by John N. Smith, is superb and moving television. The emotional centre of the program is the memory of an unnamed regiment that can only be the Toronto-based Royal Regiment of Canada. The soldiers—Casey Smith, Kesteven, Jones and Looze—are a rather more multicultural grouping than was common in the Second World War. Canadian Army—train and grape, chase the local women and come to know each other more than even they know. Casey (Anton Devine), the hell-brother, falls for an English woman whose husband is serving in Egypt, and their story tells the two episodes.

Up top, there is less passion and more analysis. As in Villan's book, Lord "Dicker" Macdonald is a central character. Masterfully portrayed by Victor Garber, Macdonald is the Chief of Combined Operations, in a smooth aristocrat with limited newspaper but an unerring eye for self-serving publicity. He is matched only by Lt. Gen. Harry Crerar, the acting commander of the Canadian Corps, who eagerly takes on the Dietpe raid. Kenneth Welsh plays him as a sleek, chain-smoking warrior, but one who understands the brutal demands of politics. His superior, Lt.

Gen. A.G. McNaughton (Quebec inexplicably promoted to full General), is presented as a Canadian nationalist, straight and true, who also eventually falls prey to analysis.

The only senior officer who emerges as humane is Maj. Gen. J. Hamilton Roberts, commander of the 2nd Canadian Infantry Division. Brilliantly played by Gary Reardon, "Plink" Roberts is the simple soldier who gets a dirty job and tries to carry it out as best he can. He is all too easily outmanoeuvred by the devious Brits, who practice backstages and backstabbers and their revenge. In the fictional realm of Dietpe, he is torn between his belief that the operation is limited and the realization that he will lose his command if he refuses the task.

In the end, he concludes, better him to lead the men than someone who does not even care about them.

The assault is, of course, doomed. The Allied landing craft run into a German coastal mine, eliminating any chance of surprise. The way drops the invaders at the wrong place, late and in full daylight. The Germans are well-trained veterans occupying the unassailable high ground. The soldiers are slaughtered by relentless machine-gun fire as they try to move over the shingle to the limited cover of a seawall. There is heroism, pity, and some panic and cowardice, too, but nothing matters in the face of superior firepower.

The portrayal of the landing is terrifying: the exploding wounds opening blood and viscera look all too real. So too, do the dead Canadians looking in the gentle sea. As the extent of the losses becomes clear, just then Roberts orders a shrill, warbling, mouth-bitten, tear-soaked, pronounced the debacle a "disaster—hell!" for the real thing. He has impressed Prime Minister Winston Churchill with his ability to get things done—and sincerely means that the Canadians have been wiped out.

To their great credit, the producers of Dietpe make no effort to sugarcoat the disaster. No character declares that the lessons learned will make D-Day possible. As the surviving soldiers prepare to surrender to the Germans, one of the few remaining officers urges the men to pull themselves together. "Let's do the right thing, please." Director Smith's portrayal of the stunned, hopeless looks on the men's faces is intended to make those words sink in. Yet the Canadians who landed at Dietpe—of their regiments and their country proud. It was the self-serving aristocrats and generals who ought to have hung their heads in shame.

J.L. GRUNSTEIN

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The new year's duels and fools

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The mist begins to clear. Things come into focus. Reality checks in. The fog disappears from the crystal ball and there it is—1994—all the details before us.

As Parliament opens on Jan. 27, Pierre Morneau in his pickup truck will pull up to the Prime Tower, disappearing from the back of a clutch of 20 farmers in their 30s overall, their shoes newly shined and their bellies full of pork rinds.

In the opening debate, the Prime will re-emerge his promise that in order to wipe out the \$16-billion deficit, his loyal troops will neither use the Parliament's canteen shower nor stand one inch at the Parliament Restaurant where the cheese tray is unlimited and costs 30 cents.

The Vancouver Canucks will begin their drive for the Stanley Cup. Premier Ralph Klein, having been a dipstick in the race with ex-Deputy Prime Mike Harcourt, will challenge Michel Maréchal to a duel on the Plains of Abraham.

Lucien Bouchard, on a point of privilege, will complain to the Speaker of the Commons that he cannot concentrate on his duties because of the distracting reflection of the over-hill lights beaming off the shiny plaques of the Reform MPs. The objection is overruled.

The Canadian Football League will announce that it has been renamed the Canadian Football League to fit in with the new franchise awarded to Vancouver, Tabbishew, Althouse and Key Largo. Jean Chrétien will leave for a NATO meeting in Europe and Sheila Copps will open her mouth, announcing that she is running the country. The dollar will fall as the Tokyo exchange.

A Newfoundland politician will announce that he doesn't own it. Quebec separatists because all it would mean is that it would take just half the time to drive to Toronto. Saskatchewan will announce that it is broke. Paul Martin will wonder why he ever left the shopping basket.

There are con-quests in the Ottawa papers from several scenarios who are late to work



every morning because of the traffic jams on the bridges from Hull. It is discovered that is because of the 54 Blue Quebec MPs who insist on living on the Quebec side so they can drive to the Commons every day to break up Canada. The shoes of the Reform MPs begin to fade in the Ottawa sun.

There are layoffs because of redundant staff in the Parliament message chamber as the people with the magic flags are boycotted by the private Reformers and the about 50 MPs who cannot accept such privileges. Audrey McLaughlin will announce that she is accepting a position as a guide on Brasília cruise expeditions that cater to rich Americans who make videotapes.

In the celebrated duel as the Plains of Abraham, covered live by Newsweek, Harcourt's peepers confirm as he draws and he shoots himself in the foot. He has not noticed that Klein has not arrived, still in the Château

Frontiere having a quick beer. Peter Dinklage crosses the Edmonton Oilers to Kelowna, but in doing so, he turns down the offer to become publisher of *The Globe and Mail*, the writers believing since the last occupant of the post was a soap salesman perhaps a car dealer would be a good choice.

Storming, which Bouchard has turned down as residence of the Leader of Her Majesty's Not Loyal Opposition, is turned into a bad hotel for Reform MPs whose ribs are showing because of having to diet at Wendy's and Ray Rogers's three times a day. Jean Chrétien goes to Washington on a visit and Sheila Copps announces she is in charge. Lumber prices fall.

The Vancouver Canucks founder in the Stanley Cup semifinals as opponents concentrate their look-and-grab practices on Pavel Bure, the latest skater in hockey, the game

Canada reversed and is now ruling. Pierre Manning is now wearing patches in the Commons debates, his stomach shows long having expired due to Ottawa's inedible snail. Lucien Bouchard objects on a point of privilege. Objectors overruled.

Jacques Parizeau beats Daniel Johnson as the Quebec elections and immediately announces where he wishes to sit in the United Nations in New York City when Quebec separates. Ralph Klein challenges him to a duel on the Plains of Abraham, promising to skip the beer. New York Rangers beat the Toronto Maple Leafs in the Stanley Cup. In a thriller watched by a 11,800 possible fans, the Key Largo team outwits the Las Vegas One-Armed Bandits in the Grey Cup.

In her newly published expose, Kim Campbell says she had nothing to do with the Tories winning two seats. It sells nine copies, Alan Gregg buying four of them and John Tory the other five. The books will explain why their presidents deserve Simitation salaries because they haven't all fast money to the Republicans that they can't get back. Sheila Copps will open her mouth.

Michael Wilson will collect corporate donations. Bob Rae will challenge Ralph Klein to a duel on the rooftop of the Park Plaza. The weapons will be remote sticks. John Campbell will write a book, but it won't be because it hasn't been translated. Michael Jackson will announce that he has found God, having had a long conversation with Bill Vander Zant. The Blue Jays, in their penultimate drive, will rechristen Ted Williams.

The sun will come up on the east and some people will fall to love.



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